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PETER LOMBARD AND THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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TO MY FATHER
PROFESSOR ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS

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PREFACE

Erasmus once complained that there were as many commentaries on Peter Lombard's "Sentences" as there were theologians. But here is a commentary by one who is not even a theologian but only a student of history. It is fortunate that Erasmus—and the Lombard himself—did not live to see this evil day.

This is not work which would have won the coveted degree of "Bachalarius Sententiarius" in a medieval university—I can only lay claim to have won to an interest in the subject equal to that of most of those medieval bachelors. My first interest in Medieval Church History I owe to my college professor, Annie Heloise Abel, and my interest in this particular phase of it to Seminars on the Medieval Church with Professor Shotwell at Columbia. The subject was assigned to me—I should never have had the courage to venture on it otherwise—and as I finish my study of it, I can only say in the Lombard's own words, "If anyone can explain it better, I am not envious."

I have had courtesies in many libraries, but I wish especially to speak gratefully of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, of the Library of Columbia University, and of that of Union Theological Seminary. I am particularly indebted to Professor Rockwell of Union Seminary for his invaluable help and training in bibliography.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Professor Shotwell for the most interesting work in the Social History of the Middle Ages; to Professor Woker of the University of Bern, "ein geborener Lehrer, der glaubt dass jeder Student ein Genie ist," as a colleague said of him, for fascinating lectures on the Political History of medieval times, and for kindness to a foreigner; and to Professor Annie Heloise Abel, now of Smith College, not only for inspiring teaching in my undergraduate days, but for constant interest, friendship and encouragement in my graduate study.

ELIZABETH F. ROGERS.

Madison, New Jersey,
January 2, 1917.

CHAPTER I

The Conception of Sacrament in the Early Fathers

One should not expect to find a definition of the sacraments, much less a developed sacramental system in the writings of the early Church.[1] In the history of religion, cult frequently develops before dogma. It is in many instances a determining element in the formulation of doctrine, even where the doctrine, on the face of it, seems to furnish the very basis for the cult. In the Christian Church we find a long development of the form of worship, and the beginnings of formal liturgy, before we come to any discussion of the meaning of these ceremonies.

It is controversy which brings precision in people's ideas. In the early Church, there were the long struggles with the pagans, which we see reflected in the apologetic literature of the time, and then the innumerable controversies over the heresies which arose in the Church itself, and called forth the formulation of the orthodox belief. In the "Apologies" against the pagans, and in the "Defences" against Christian heretics, we may look for the beginnings of that long and slow development of the doctrine of the sacraments, which only attained its final form more than a thousand years later in the writings of the Scholastic theologians.

To trace this development is extremely difficult because the idea of sacrament matures in silence while other subjects are monopolizing discussion. The earlier Fathers are far more concerned with the great doctrines of faith than with the sacraments. They are discussing the resurrection of the Lord and its bearing upon the resurrection of believers. They are laboring to convince

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[1] For obvious reasons this study in the history of the medieval church does not go into the problems of the interpretation of New Testament texts or that of the conception of sacrament held in the apostolic age; for such considerations carry one into quite a different field, that of New Testament exegesis and comparative religion.

unbelievers, to establish the wavering, to stimulate love and good works. It is among the multifarious interests of the church that here and there a spark is struck with some light upon the sacraments. It is, however, fascinatingly interesting to see how the spark kindles larger masses of material, and to observe the growing flame.

It has seemed well worth while to single out from the writings which are so multiform, and so rich, the passages which relate to the sacraments, and to set them down, closely following a chronological order. It will be observed that the passages quoted are much longer in the earlier than in the later writers. The reason is that the earlier Christians give only hints, suggestions, allusions to the sacraments, and to make these clear we must have before us the whole of the context. Later, as the minds of men were more clearly focussed upon the sacraments, and definitions of them had become matter of controversy the citations are brief, specific and on that account at times arid.

JUSTIN MARTYR (C. 114-C. 165)

In the literature of Apology, the earliest detailed and from many points of view the most interesting reference to the Christian cult is that of Justin Martyr, who died A. D. 165. He gives a picture of the worship, including a description of its central ceremony, the celebration of the Eucharist, which later apologists did not dare to do owing to the persecutions and the resultant Discipline of the Secret.[1] But it is significant of the general character of the early Christian doctrine, that one finds in the long exposition of Justin almost no light upon the doctrines involved. He does not define sacraments. Baptism and the Eucharist, it is true, do stand out very clearly as essential to Christianity; but there is an equal emphasis upon prayer. This does not mean that Justin lacked the conception of sacrament. He had been too

[1] The obligation to keep secret from the pagans and the unbaptized, the formula of the three-fold name, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. This was a following of the pagan mysteries, and is akin to the scruple among primitive peoples, against revealing the knowledge of a powerful name. Cf. Bonwetsch.

familiar with the Mysteries for that. For, although he does not use any special term for the sacraments, he refers to their effects in language which implies an acquaintance with the mystery rites.[1]

We can see an instance of this in his description of Baptism.

"I will also relate the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God when we had been made new through Christ. . . . As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated.[2] For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water.[3] . . . And this washing is called illumination, because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings. . . ."[4]

His appreciation of the analogy to the mystery rites is interesting, but he draws no doctrinal conclusions which would make clearer the kind of ceremony employed.

"And the devils, indeed, having heard this washing published by the prophet, instigated those who enter their temples, and are about to approach them with libations and burnt-offerings, also to sprinkle themselves; and they cause them also to wash themselves entirely, as they depart [from the sacrifice], before they enter into the shrines in which images are set."[5]

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[1] It is not hereby implied that the early Christians confused sacraments with mysteries. They regarded these rites as instituted by Christ and loathed those of the heathen. The modern view that mysteries influenced the development of sacraments is right, but the Christians of A. D. 150 were ignorant of this.

[2] *Ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται.*

[3] First Apology. c. LXI.

[4] Ibid. *Καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων.*

This word "illumination" or "enlightenment" is borrowed straight from the Greek mysteries, and comes to be the constant technical term. See Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church, p. 295. Also Harnack, "History of Dogma," vol. I, pp. 207–8. German Edition, vol. I, pp. 229–230.

[5] Ibid. c. LXII.

To Justin we are indebted for the first description of the celebration of the Eucharist following Baptism in the early Church. The service begins with prayers for the illuminated person and for the others, already members of the Christian community.

"Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at his hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people express their assent by saying Amen. . . . And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion.[1]

"And this food is called among us *Εὐχαριστία* [the Eucharist], of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of his word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh." [2] . . .

Here again he sees the resemblance to the sacred meals of the mysteries.

"Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of

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[1] Ibid. c. LXV.

Called the Eulogia—it was also sent by the bishops, notably those of Rome, to their daughter churches, and to foreign bishops and churches, as a symbol of Christian love and brotherhood. The practice seems to have been universal, but tended to degenerate into irreverence and superstition, and was forbidden by the Council of Laodicæa, A. D. 365.

[2] Ibid. c. LXVI. . . . *Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν.* . . .

Mithras, commanding the same thing to be done. For, that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you either know or can learn." [1]

Upon the whole, then, the earliest detailed description of the Christian worship which comes to us from the sub-apostolic age, shows the existence and appreciation of sacramental religion.

According to Justin the Christian form of worship is a mystery in the sense of the mysteries of Mithras or Eleusis. That is, its rites themselves convey the grace of God. In baptism, one is "illuminated," and in the Eucharist one does not receive "common bread and common drink" but a miraculous and divine nourishment. Justin does not elaborate the exact operation of the divine grace in either case, but the general sense is clear. The full force of his description can be seen only when one has in mind the other mysteries, which he was combatting, but which none the less furnished the mould of his thought.

From the description which Justin offers it is clear that this sense of the sacramental in the Christian religion was not simply that of an author who had himself been saturated in the pagan atmosphere, but was also the outlook of the Christians in the communities he describes. For instance, the attitude of the congregation toward the "blessed bread," which is sent to the absent as well as partaken of by those present, indicates a feeling for the sacramental grace imparted through the elements.

Although therefore there is no definite conception of sacrament as a whole and no definition of its working, the implications from this description are clear enough. The cult is sacramental, even when viewed from the angle of one trained as a pagan.

IRENÆUS (——-c. 190)

The next important text to which we turn is naturally that of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons in France, in the last quarter of the second century. He is the first of the Fathers to review in a comprehensive way the heretical doctrines into which Christianity

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[1] Ibid. c. LXVI.

seemed to be dissolving, and to state the case of orthodoxy with incisive vigor. His famous work "Against Heresies," or "A Refutation and Subversion of Knowledge falsely so called," not only summarizes the chief heresies which were then threatening the speculative Christian world, but also, by way of refutation, a somewhat elaborate statement of the bases of the Catholic teaching. So that Irenæus stands as a prime source for the early history of Catholicism.

It is therefore significant that when one turns to this statement of Christian teaching and practice, one finds no developed statement of the working of the sacraments. Such references as there are, are incidental and their meaning is to be appreciated mainly by a study of the context.

It is as sacrifice rather than as sacrament in the technical sense of this word, that Irenæus develops his discussion of the Eucharist.[1] This is, of course, an aspect of the Eucharist which is almost as important as that of sacrament and runs parallel to it throughout all its history. The sacrifice of the Mass is the setting for the sacrament of the Eucharist. The problem of transubstantiation, that supreme problem of medieval and modern controversy, has its roots in the conceptions of sacrifice as well as in those of sacrament. The controversies as to the working of the sacrament, as to whether the priest at the altar repeats the real sacrifice of Christ or not—these and many other related dogmas carry one over rather to the field of sacrifice than to that of sacramental communion. So that the discussions of the early Fathers concerning the Christian sacrifice help, as well, to lay the basis for a definition of sacrament. But they do little more. For they naturally link up with the priesthood and temple of the Old Testament, and attempt either to draw from the "law and the prophets" sugges-

[1] The Western Church came, in time, to apply the term sacrifice almost exclusively to the one "sacrifice of the altar," the Mass; by which they meant the total ceremony of which the eucharistic communion or sacrament was only a part. But the conception of sacrifice in Christian worship naturally transcends these technical boundaries. It is, in the nature of the case, a wider term than sacrament.

tions for the conduct of the Christian community,[1] or to show the essential justification for Christian practices as a modification of the rites of the old dispensation.

Sacrifices and oblations are required of the Christian as they had been of the Jew. "The class of oblations in general has not been set aside; for there were both oblations there [among the Jews], and there are oblations here [among the Christians]. Sacrifices there were among the people; sacrifices there are, too, in the Church: but the kind has been changed, inasmuch as the offering is now made, not by slaves, but by freemen."[2]

In his discussion of the working of this Christian sacrifice, Irenæus comes very near a definition of sacrament in the passage in which he defends the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The Eucharist is a medium of divine grace since the body that is nourished with it does not go to corruption but is to partake of eternal life. The conception of sacrament is implied if not directly expressed.

"How can they say that the flesh, which is nourished with the body of the Lord and with his blood, goes to corruption, and does not partake of life? Let them, therefore, either alter their opinion, or cease from offering the things just mentioned. But our opinion is in accordance with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn establishes our opinion. For we offer to him his own, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly[3]; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity."[4]

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[1] As in Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians.

[2] Contra Haereses. iv. XVIII. 2.

Et non genus oblationum reprobatum est; oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic: sacrificia in populo, sacrificia in Ecclesia: sed species immutata est tantum, quippe cum jam non a servis, sed a libris offeratur.

[3] Ibid. iv. XVIII. 5. . . . Ὡς . . . ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου.

[4] Ibid. iv. XVIII. 5.

More specific reference to the sacramental element in the Christian sacrifice occurs in another passage dealing with the same theme. Defending his doctrine of the "salvation of the flesh," [1] Irenæus argues:

"But if this indeed do not attain salvation, then neither did the Lord redeem us with his blood, nor is the cup of the Eucharist the communion of his blood, nor the bread which we break the communion of his body. . . . And as we are his members, we are also nourished by means of the creation (and he himself grants the creation to us, for he causes his sun to rise, and sends rain when he wills). He has acknowledged the cup (which is a part of the creation) as his own blood, from which he bedews our blood; and the bread (also a part of the creation) he has established as his own body, from which he gives increase to our bodies.[1]

"When, therefore, the mingled cup and the manufactured bread receives the Word of God, and the Eucharist becomes the body of Christ,[2] from which things our flesh is increased and supported, how can they affirm that the flesh is incapable of receiving the gift of God, which is life eternal, which [flesh] is nourished from the body and blood of the Lord, and is a member of him?" [3]

In these scattered references to the Eucharist, incidental to his discussion of the Resurrection, we can see the line of thought pursued by Irenæus concerning that element of the sacrifice which is also sacrament, namely the nature of the communion. It is clear that although there is no definition of sacrament, and that the conception is so embedded in that of sacrifice as to be practically obscured from view, the sacrament is there as genuinely as though it had been defined in detail.

There is only one passage which at all gives Irenæus' view of baptism:

"It was not for nothing that Naaman of old, when suffering from leprosy, was purified upon his being baptized, but [it served]

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[1] Ibid. v. II. 2.

[2] Ibid. v. II. 3. *τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ.*

[3] Ibid. v. II. 3.

as an indication to us. For as we are lepers in sin, we are made clean, by means of the sacred water and the invocation of the Lord, from our old transgressions; being spiritually regenerated as new-born babes, even as the Lord has declared: 'Except a man be born again through water and the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'" [1]

We are now come to the end of our review of the contributions of Irenæus to the sacramental system, and there needs only to point to the difference between him and his forerunner Justin Martyr. The contrast between the two men is a contrast of background. The analogies which Justin finds are to the "sacred meals of the mysteries," to "the mysteries of Mithras," to "mystic rites," and his language is full of allusions to "sacred meals," to the "initiated" or to "incantations." The background is unmistakably Greek. This is significant and it could not be without influence upon the man's whole thinking and upon its outcome in dogma. To all this Irenaeus presents a vivid contrast. His discussion is freighted with the imagery, the phraseology, and the theological conceptions of the Old Testament. It is the "law and the prophets," "the sacrifices" of the Jewish dispensation, "the lepers,"—all of them and many more from this single source, and the analogies and illustrations are of the same mould. With Irenæus it is not Mithras but Naaman, who points his moral. Herein lies the explanation of many of the differences in the conclusions of the two men. As we go forward now to Latin instead of Greek we shall do well to bear in mind the differences between Justin and Irenæus, the while that we carry forward the results of their thinking and disputing upon the sacramental system.

TERTULLIAN (c. 150 or 160–220 or 240)

The Latin tongue is singularly lacking in the terminology either of philosophy or of religion, a characteristic which corresponds, so it has often been claimed, with the temper of the Roman people as exhibited in their history. When the first Latin Father, Tertullian, at the opening of the third century attempted to frame

[1] Fragments. XXXIV.

the conceptions of Christian theology in Latin he was unable to translate the Greek literally since the languages had no exact parallels, and so he boldly adapted terms, which were formerly used in a different connection, to the uses of Christian theology. In the legal Latin familiar to a man trained, as Tertullian was, in the Roman law, the word *sacramentum* had several different meanings. In the first place it meant the sum which the two parties to a suit deposited—so-called perhaps because it was deposited in a sacred place.[1] Then, by metonymy, it meant a civil suit or process. Finally, it was the military oath of allegiance, and so any solemn obligation.

Tertullian uses this term in various ways.[2] In the first place we have the literal application of it as he draws a parallel between the neophyte's promises on entering the Church by baptism and the soldier's oath of allegiance. The Christian, like the soldier, must be faithful and obedient even to death, for "Who wished this fatal issue to his soldier, but he who sealed him by such an oath?" [3] The military life, then, is incompatible with that of the Christian, for "there is no agreement between the divine and the human sacrament." [4]

In the second place, Tertullian chooses *sacramentum* as a parallel to the Greek theological term *μυστήριον*, a mystery or secret doctrine. In the New Testament it means a divine secret, something above human intelligence.[5] Tertullian uses it in this

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[1] Or perhaps so-called because the money deposited by the losing party was used for religious purposes, especially for the *sacra publica* (divine worship).

[2] See also Réville, Albert, Du sens du mot "sacramentum" dans Tertullien. Paris—École pratique des hautes études—Section des Sciences religieuses. Etudes de critique et d'histoire. v. I. pp. 195–204.

[3] Scorp. 4. Quis hunc militi suo exitum voluit, nisi qui tali eum sacramento consignavit.

[4] De Idol. 19. Non convenit sacramento divino et humano.

This tract of Tertullian's, as also the De Spectaculis, affords an interesting glance into the author's mind. No less than his hatred of heathen religion is his hatred of heathen art and culture. The teaching of literature he thinks incompatible with the Christian profession, and to him the well-spring and stimulus of Art is lust.

[5] Matt. 13, 11.

sense when he speaks of a sister who "converses with angels and sometimes even with the Lord; she both sees and hears *mysterious communications.*" [1] In another place he speaks of fasting as an aid to this "recognition of *mysterious communications.*" [2]

In addition to these two uses of the word, however, Tertullian seems as well to use "sacrament" in the sense to which we are accustomed, for he speaks of the "sacrament of baptism"[3] and of the "sacrament of the Eucharist."

Of the Eucharist he gives only a short description:

"We take also, in congregations before day-break, and from the hand of none but the presidents,[4] the sacraments of the Eucharist, which the Lord hath commanded to be eaten at meal-times, and enjoined to be taken by all alike." [5]

From Tertullian there seems much less to be learned concerning the Eucharist than of Baptism. There is discernible a growing reverence concerning the elements, witnessed, for example, by the scrupulous care to prevent even a drop or a crumb from falling to the ground.[5] Beside this it should, perhaps, be

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[1] De Anima. 9. Conversatur cum angelis, aliquando etiam cum Domino, et videt et audit sacramenta.

[2] De Jejuniis. 7. Verum etiam sacramentorum agnitionem jejunia de Deo merebuntur.

It might be queried why Tertullian chose *sacramentum* to translate μυστήριον. It would seem that the parallel word in Latin, taken directly from the Greek, *mysterium*, could have been better used—its meanings and uses were the same. In the next century Ambrose used it of the Lord's Supper. (*Comment. in I Cor. 11, 27*—Mysterium celebrat.) In the plural, the Latin, as the Greek, meant the pagan "mysteries," but the singular had the more general meaning.

There was also the Latinized Greek word *symbolum*, which might have been used. In the middle of the third century, *symbolum* was used of the formula of baptism: the "symbol of the Trinity" [*Ep. Firmil. ad Cypr.* 11]; the "symbol in which we baptize" [*Ep. S. Cypriani ad Magnum* 7—Eodem Symbolo quo et nos baptizare]. This formula grew into the Roman Creed, and Rufinus, c. 400, called it the "symbol of the apostles." [*Comment. in Symbolum Apostolorum.*]

[3] De Bapt. 9. In baptismi sacramento.

[4] Nec de aliorum manu quam praesidentium.

[5] De Corona. 3.

noted that in Tertullian's day another evidence of growing reverence for the elements is to be discerned. In the passage just quoted it is provided that these are to be received "from the hand of none but the presidents," whereas in the time of Justin the elements were blessed by the president and then by him delivered to the deacons who, in their turn, passed them on to the faithful. They are now, in other words, to pass direct from the president, and are thus less likely to fall or suffer any other accident. The ritual develops to such a point the prohibitions attached to the sacramental act as to indicate a distinct growth in consciousness of its importance. Yet when Tertullian develops his doctrine in words carefully weighed there is no sign of excessive reverence, much less of superstition. Thus he speaks of the bread as the figure of his body,[1] and as representing his body.[2]

To baptism, however, Tertullian devotes an entire treatise, which also gives us much of his general conception of sacraments.

"All waters, therefore, . . . do, after invocation of God, attain the sacramental power of sanctification; for the Spirit immediately supervenes from the heavens, and rests over the waters, sanctifying them from himself, and being thus sanctified, they imbibe at the same time the power of sanctifying." [3]

"It is not to be doubted that God has made the material substance which he has disposed throughout all his products and works, obeying him also in his own peculiar sacraments; that the material substance which governs terrestrial life acts as agent likewise in the celestial. . . ." [4]

In the water "we are cleansed and prepared for the Holy Spirit."

"Thus, too, does the angel, the witness of baptism, 'make the

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[1] Figura corporis. Adv. Marcion. III. 19.

[2] Panem quo ipsum corpus suum representat. Ibid. I. 14.

[3] De Bapt. 3. Licet eo plenius docerem non esse dubitandum, si materiam, quam in omnibus rebus et operibus suis Deus disposuit, etiam in sacramentis propriis parere fecit; si quae vitam terrenam gubernat, et in coelesti procurat.

[4] De Bapt. 4. Ita de Sancto sanctificata natura aquarum, et ipsa sanctificare concepit.

paths straight' for the Holy Spirit, who is about to come upon us, by the washing away of sins, which faith, sealed in (the name of) the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, obtains. . . . Moreover, after the pledging both of the attestation of faith and the promise of salvation under 'three witnesses,' there is added, of necessity, mention of the Church; inasmuch as, wherever there are three, (that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,) there is the Church, which is a body of three.[1] . . . After this, when we have issued from the font, we are thoroughly anointed with a blessed unction. . . . The unction runs carnally, (i.e., on the body,) but profits spiritually; in the same way as the *act* of baptism itself too is carnal, in that we are plunged into water, but the *effect* spiritual, in that we are freed from sins.[2] . . .

"In the next place the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through benediction." [3]

Clause after clause of these passages show Tertullian's appreciation of the sacramental principle. "All waters, . . . after invocation of God attain the sacramental power of sanctification." The waters are sanctified by the Spirit and at the same time imbibe the power of sanctifying those who shall be baptized in them.[4] He emphasizes the distinction between the simple ceremony of baptism, and its spiritual significance. "The *act* of baptism itself . . . is carnal, in that we are plunged into water, but the *effect* spiritual, in that we are freed from sins. . . ." [5] So Tertullian not only gives the word sacrament but even, when one analyzes closely the thought in this extract, we see in it a foreshadowing of the real definition. A part of his great work in this line we shall see influenced Cyprian to a marked degree, and especially Cyprian's uses of the word *sacramentum*.

CYPRIAN (200-258)[6]

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in the middle of the third cen-

[1] De Bapt. 6.

[2] De Bapt. 7. Quomodo et ipsius baptismi carnalis actus, quod in aqua mergimur; spiritalis effectus, quod delictis liberamur.

[3] De Bapt. 8. [4] De Bapt. 4. [5] De Bapt. 7.

[6] See also, Edward White Benson, Cyprian, his Life, his Times, his Work. London, 1897, especially pp. 331, ff.

tury, puts a personal stamp on his work, but borrows much from Tertullian, whose tractates he read assiduously.[1] "Cyprian did little more in *literature* than to adapt the style of Tertullian. . . . Intellectually Tertullian was an originator, Cyprian a populariser." Nearly all his uses of the word sacrament can be paralleled in Tertullian. The bent of his mind was more practical than speculative, and so it is not surprising that he used words only in the signification that usage had already given them.[2] In this, he is in marked contrast to Tertullian, with his bold adaptation of terms.

It is interesting therefore to see that this first great student of Tertullian does not fasten upon any *one* of the various significations attached to the term sacrament by Tertullian, but uses it in a broad, often extremely vague sense, to convey the general sense of what we to-day mean by sacrament. The unity of the Church is a sacrament,[3] and anyone who departs from the one church impugns "the sacrament of the divine tradition."[4] In his treatise on the Lord's prayer, he says, "But to us, beloved brethren, besides the hours of prayer observed of old, both the times and sacraments of praying have now increased."[5]

As in Tertullian, *sacramentum* is used as the equivalent of μυστήριον: a prophetic figure. The giving of the manna in the Exodus is a sacrament of the equality with which "Christ the sun and true day in his church" gives the light of eternal life.[6] "Also in the priest Melchizedek we see prefigured the sacrament of the

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[1] "At Concordia in Italy, I saw an old man named Paulus. He said that in his youth he had met with an aged secretary of the blessed Cyprian, who told him that Cyprian never passed a day without reading some portion of Tertullian's works, and used frequently to say, 'Da magistrum,' 'Give me my master,' meaning Tertullian." Jerome. Catal. c. 3. cf. Jerome, Ep. 41.

[2] J. B. Poukens, Sacramentum dans les oeuvres de saint Cyprien. Etude lexicographique. Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes. Oct. 1912.

[3] Ep. ad Pompeium contra Ep. Stephani. XI.

[4] Ibid. XI.

[5] Lib. de Oratione Dominica. XXXV.

[6] Ep. LXVIII. 14.

sacrifice of the Lord,[1] according to what divine Scripture testifies, and says,

'And Melchizedek, King of Salem, brought forth bread and wine.' . . . For who is more a priest of the most high God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered that very same thing which Melchizedek had offered, that is, bread and wine, to wit, his body and blood?" [2]

He sees another prophetic figure in Noah's ark.

"Moreover, Peter himself, showing and vindicating the unity, has commanded and warned us that we cannot be saved, except by the one only baptism of one Church. 'In the ark,' says he, 'of Noah, few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water, as also baptism shall in like manner save you.' In how short and spiritual a summary has he set forth the sacrament of unity! For as, in that baptism of the world in which its ancient iniquity was purged away, he who was not in the ark of Noah could not be saved by water, so neither can he appear to be saved by baptism who has not been baptized in the Church which is established in the unity of the Lord according to the sacrament of the one ark." [3]

Moses, to bring victory to the Israelites in battle, has his arms outstretched "in the sign and sacrament of the cross." [4] Here, sacrament is not so much a prophetic figure as it is a symbol.[5]

The classical meaning of sacrament as a military oath is still found in the writings of Cyprian. In his attack on those who would accept the baptism given among heretics he says:

"If glory is thus given to God, if the fear and the discipline of God is thus preserved by his worshippers and his priests, let us cast away our arms; let us give ourselves up to captivity; . . . let the

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[1] Notice the phrase "sacrament of the sacrifice of the Lord." An idea somewhat similar has already been above in the discussion of Irenaeus' views of the sacrament as a sacrifice. See above, p. 22 ff.

[2] Ep. LXIII. 4.

[3] Ep. LXXIV. 11.

[4] Ad Fortunatum, 8.

[5] Poukens Sacramentum dans les oeuvres de saint Cyprien.

sacraments of the divine warfare be loosed; let the standards of the heavenly camp be betrayed . . ." [1]

We have stated above that cult, i.e., religious practice, often determines dogma. In Cyprian's case a situation developed which put great emphasis upon the validity of that sacrament which Tertullian had most clearly defined—Baptism. There is much discussion of baptism, because of the two difficult questions of the validity of the baptism of heretics, and of the re-baptism of those who, having lapsed during the severe Decian persecutions, were afterwards repentant and wished to return to the church.

True baptism is only in the one church. ". . . How can he who baptizes give to another remission of sins, who himself, being outside the church, cannot put away his own sins? [2] . . . We mean that remission of sins is not granted except in the Church, and that among heretics where there is no church, sins cannot be put away." [3] Cyprian's problem was how to treat those who had defiled themselves after purification in baptism, by sacrificing to the pagan gods during the persecutions. The power of the divine grace in the water (as Tertullian had said) had been given them in baptism, and this they could not lose. Re-baptism of those who had lapsed was therefore not necessary, but only the laying-on of hands in penance.

"It is sufficient to lay hands in penance upon those who are known to have been baptized in the Church, and have gone over from us to the heretics, if, subsequently acknowledging their sin and putting away their error, they return to the truth . . ." [4]

This laying-on of hands he also calls a sacrament. "For then finally can they be fully sanctified, and be the sons of God, if they be born of each sacrament." [5]

On their return to the Church, the lapsed were to make public confession and do penance, but Cyprian does not specifically refer to this as a sacrament.

[1] Ep. LXXIV. 8.
[2] Ep. LXX. 1. (LXIX in translation—only the argument is given in Migne).
[3] Ep. LXX. 2.
[4] Ep. LXXI. Ad Quintum.
[5] Ep. LXXII. Ad Stephanum.

"For although in smaller sins sinners may do penance for a set time, and according to the rules of discipline come to public confession, and by imposition of the hand of the bishops and clergy receive the right of communion:[1] now with their time still unfulfilled, while persecution is still raging, while the peace of the Church itself is not yet restored, they are admitted to communion, and their name is presented; and while the penance is not yet performed, confession is not yet made, the hands of the bishop and clergy are not yet laid upon them, the eucharist is given to them." [2]

The obvious conclusion from such a passage is that Cyprian thought of penance as a ceremony in which divine grace was given to the penitent, through the laying-on of hands, and if so, penance was really to him a sacrament, though he does not call it so.

Especially interesting is Cyprian's treatment of the sacrament of the Eucharist. Again, as in baptism, the practical exigencies of church administration bring the bishop of Carthage, through directions for ritual, to a statement which reveals his conception of the sacramental efficacy of this central Christian rite. One of his epistles is devoted to the "sacrament of the cup of the Lord." [3] This is an argument for the mixed chalice, and especially against offering water alone in the cup, a practice which, as Cyprian's letter shows, had spread throughout Africa generally and as modern scholars have demonstrated, even wider in the early Church.[4] Cyprian argues that the sacrament would not be complete if water only were offered. "We see that in the water is understood the people, but in the wine is showed the blood of Christ. But when the water is mingled in the cup with wine,

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[1] Nam, cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores poenitentiam justo tempore, et, secundum disciplinae ordinem, ad exomologesim veniant, et per manus impositionem episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiant . . . .

[2] Ep. IX. Ad Clerum.

[3] Ep. LXIII. Ad Caecilium de sacramento Dominici calicis.

[4] Cyprian (ibid. c. 15.), quoting Tertullian (Ad Uxor. II. 5.), intimates that they drank water owing to the fact that had they partaken of wine in the morning, they would have been detected by informers and suffered persecution owing to the scent of wine on the breath.

the people is made one with Christ. . . . For if anyone offer wine only, the blood of Christ is dissociated from us; but if the water be alone, the people are dissociated from Christ; but when both are mingled, and are joined with one another by a close union, there is completed a spiritual and heavenly sacrament." [1] Cyprian's plea for the orthodox ritual shows, almost unconsciously, the attitude which he assumes toward sacraments as such.

In developing his point Cyprian uses language which at first glance might seem like a detailed exposition of the doctrine of sacraments. But upon second examination one sees that we have here simply an instance of that rhetorical and apologetic device so common in the Fathers—namely allegory. He concludes his explanation of the mixed chalice with a repeated emphasis on the Lord's commandment concerning the Eucharist.

"But if we may not break even the least of the Lord's commandments, how much rather is it forbidden to infringe such important ones, so great, so pertaining to the very sacrament of our Lord's passion and our own redemption, or to change it by human tradition into anything else than what was divinely appointed." [2]

His realization of the importance of the sacraments comes out quite clearly elsewhere. It seems inexpedient to quote further definite references, but perhaps the following passage will be sufficient as an example. He speaks of

"those divine teachings wherewith the Lord has condescended to teach and instruct us by the Holy Scriptures, that, being led away from the darkness of error, and enlightened by his pure and shining light, we may keep the way of life through the saving sacraments." [3]

It will be clear from the above discussion that Cyprian, emphasizing on the one hand the figurative aspect, and on the other the effective grace of sacrament as a means of salvation, supplies the two "essential elements of the definition of sacrament, as it was to be established in the following centuries." [4]

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[1] Ep. LXIII. 13.
[2] Ibid. 14.
[3] Treatise XII. (Introd.)
[4] Poukens, Sacramentum dans les oeuvres de saint Cyprien.

HILARY OF POITIERS (c. 300-367)

In the works of Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, writing about a century later than Cyprian, in the middle of the fourth century, we still find quite frequently the vague use of the word sacrament. As in earlier writers, for instance, he speaks of Samuel as showing the "sacrament of anointing," both of a prophet and of a king.[1] Also, in his Commentary on Matthew, he says that Christ has promised to bear the burden of those who will take his yoke upon them, that is, receive the precepts of his commands, and approach him "by the sacrament of the cross." [2] Again, he speaks of all mankind being called "to the sacrament of the passion of the Lord." [3]

The whole of the practical side of Christianity as a system of life is taken for granted by Hilary, and his only references to baptism and the Eucharist are incidental to his discussion of doctrinal problems, such as that of Christology. But his Christological problem was that of the Divinity of Christ, not that of the nature of Christ which had been a subject of dispute at the Council of Nicaea, for we know from himself[4] that he was not acquainted with the Nicene symbol, and that he had never heard of the homoousion and homoiousion. This shows how little the theology of the West was influenced by the East in this period.

Following St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, he says that as we are buried with Christ in his baptism,

> "we must die to the old man, because the regeneration of baptism has the force of resurrection. . . . For we rise again in him through faith in God, who raised him from the dead; wherefore we must believe in God, by whose working Christ was raised from the dead, for our faith rises again in and with Christ." [5]

Hilary's mention of the Eucharist is only in support of his argument "that Christ is God and man, and that through this

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[1] Tract. in Ps. CXVIII. n. 5.
[2] Comment. in Matt. c. XI. n. 13.
[3] Ibid. c. XXXIII. n. 5.
[4] De syn. 91, II, 518 A.
[5] De Trinitate. IX. 9.

union must come the union of man with God." [1] The Eucharist is a means to this union.

Hilary proceeds to make this point by an emphasis upon the Incarnation. The Word became flesh; that flesh is offered to us in the sacrament; therefore we partake of the Word. This is a natural line for Christian thought, based largely upon Pauline teaching; but as stated by Hilary it makes one aware of the fact that the Incarnation itself had a sacramental aspect,—that it was the union of God and man, as the Eucharist symbolized the union of man with God, and although the Logos was spirit rather than merely grace, the difficulty of grasping that fact by even the theological imagination is apparent in the very emphasis the doctrine received. Moreover, as one traces the history of the chief Christian sacrament, the Eucharist, through the Middle Ages, the doctrine of the Incarnation is seen to be a prerequisite to its formulation.[2]

As Hilary puts it—

"For if in truth the Word has been made flesh and we in very truth receive the Word made flesh as food from the Lord, are we not bound to believe that he abides in us naturally, who, born as a man, has assumed the nature of our flesh now inseparable from himself, and has conjoined the nature of his own flesh to the nature of the eternal Godhead in the sacrament by which his flesh is communicated to us?" [3]

"For as to what we say concerning the reality of Christ's nature within us, unless we have been taught by him, our words are foolish and impious. For he says himself, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him.' As to the verity of the flesh and blood there is no room left for doubt. For now both from the declaration of the Lord Himself and our own faith, it is verily flesh and verily blood. And these when eaten and drunk,

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[1] Cf. E. W. Watson, Post-Nicene Fathers, Introduction, p. v.

[2] On this see further the influence of John of Damascus. Compare Harnack, History of Dogma, IV, pp. 265, 301 ff. and Goetz, Die Abendmahlsafrage, p. 2.

[3] De Trin. VIII. 13.

bring it to pass that both we are in Christ and Christ in us. . . ." [1]

"Now how it is that we are in him through the sacrament of the flesh and blood bestowed upon us, He Himself testifies, saying, 'And the world will no longer see me, but ye shall see me; because I live ye shall live also; because I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you.' . . . He would have us believe that he is in us through the mystery of the sacraments. . . ." [2]

"I have dwelt upon these facts because the heretics falsely maintain that the union between Father and Son is one of will only, and make use of the example of our own union with God, as though we were united to the Son and through the Son to the Father by mere obedience and a devout will, and none of the natural verity of communion were vouchsafed us through the sacrament of the Body and Blood; although the glory of the Son bestowed upon us through the Son abiding in us after the flesh, while we are united in him corporeally and inseparably, bids us preach the mystery of the true and natural unity." [2]

In other words, there are heretics who believe that Christianity is not essentially a sacramental religion, who insist that the ceremony of the Eucharist—the central sacrament—is *merely* a symbol, conveying no effective grace. Hilary denounces these on the solid basis of orthodoxy. He adds nothing to the accepted belief, but on the contrary he receives it with such emphasis that his testimony is all the sounder as an historical document, as to what the Church in his day in the West was holding.

AMBROSE (c. 340-397.)

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan at the close of the fourth century, is the first of the Western Fathers to devote an entire treatise to the subject of the sacraments. The references in Irenaeus, Tertullian and Hilary were only incidental to their discussion of other matters. Ambrose is also important because of his very evident influence on his younger contemporary and pupil, Augustine.

Ambrose's book, "Concerning the Mysteries" [3] was written

[1] Ibid. VIII. 14.
[2] Ibid. VIII. 15.
[3] Lib. de Mysteriis.

for the instruction of the newly baptized. Because of the Discipline of the Secret, which we have mentioned above, this teaching was not even given to the catechumens. The catechumens heard the lessons read from the Scriptures, and were instructed in morals, until their baptism. As Ambrose puts it in the introduction,

"The season now warns us to speak of the Mysteries, and to set forth the purport of the sacraments, which if we had thought it well to teach before baptism to those who were not yet initiated, we should be considered rather to have betrayed than to have portrayed the mysteries." [1]

In this book, Ambrose treats of baptism, and the ceremonies that followed it, including confirmation, and the Eucharist. We find here the basis of much of the sacramental teaching of later centuries, but even so, Ambrose gives us no definition of just what he understands by the term sacrament.

Perhaps the following passage sums up the essential elements of his teaching on the sacrament of baptism.

"The reason why you were told before not to believe only what you saw, was that you might not say perchance, This is that great mystery 'which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man.' [2] I see water, which I have been used to see every day. Is that water to cleanse me now in which I have so often bathed without ever being cleansed? By this you may recognize that water does not cleanse without the Spirit.[3]

"Therefore read that the three witnesses in baptism, the water, the blood, and the Spirit, are one, for if you take away one of these, the Sacrament of Baptism does not exist. For what is water without the cross of Christ? A common element, without any sacramental effect. Nor, again, is there the Sacrament of Regeneration without water: 'For except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Now, even the catechumen believes in the cross of the Lord Jesus, wherewith he too is signed; but unless he be baptized in the name of the Father,

[1] Lib. de Myst. c. I. 2.
[2] 1 Cor. ii. 9.
[3] Lib. de Myst. c. IV. 19.

and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot receive remission of sins, nor gain the gift of spiritual grace." [1]

One passage, in the general discussion of baptism and its attendant rites, evidently refers to confirmation.

"And then remember that you received the seal of the Spirit, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the spirit of holy fear, and preserved what you received. God the Father sealed you, Christ the Lord strengthened you, and gave the earnest of the Spirit in your heart,[2] as you have learned in the lesson from the Apostle." [3]

Confirmation is here rather a part of the sacrament of baptism, than a separate sacrament.

He compares the sacraments of the Church with those of the synagogue, to show that those of the Church "are both more ancient than those of the synagogue, and more excellent than the manna." [4]

"But yet all those who ate that food died in the wilderness, but that food which you receive, that living Bread which came down from heaven, furnishes the substance of eternal life; and whosoever shall eat of this Bread shall never die, and it is the Body of Christ." [5]

Ambrose writes further of the Eucharist:

"For that sacrament which you receive is made what it is by the word of Christ. But if the word of Elijah had such power as to bring down fire from heaven, shall not the word of Christ have power to change the nature of the elements?" [6]

"The Lord Jesus himself proclaims: 'This is my Body.' Before the blessing of the heavenly words another nature is spoken of, after the consecration the Body is signified. He himself speaks of his Blood. Before the consecration it has another name, after it is called Blood. . . ." [7]

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[1] Lib. de Myst. c. IV. 20.
[2] 2 Cor. V. 5.
[3] Lib. de Myst. c. VII. 42.
[4] Ibid. c. VIII. 44.
[5] Ibid. c. VIII. 47.
[6] Ibid. c. IX. 52.
[7] Ibid. c. IX. 54.

"Christ, then, feeds his Church with these sacraments, by means of which the substance of the soul is strengthened." [1]

Though we have still no attempt at a definition of the term sacrament, we have in these passages a very clear exposition of the sacramental idea, which was bound to have its influence on the theology of the later Church.

In short, Ambrose, like Cyprian and Hilary, was an ecclesiastic with a definite and practical problem. Even the teaching, therefore, which he embodies in his manual deals not with general concepts but with separate and detailed facts arising naturally in the exercise of his office as bishop. Definitions and philosophical conceptions originate in another setting, when the mind that sees the daily problem is either forced by controversy to larger formulations or is, on the contrary, set free to interpret the facts with a certain detachment of mind. In Ambrose's great pupil Augustine we find both of these apparently antagonistic prerequisites, and with him we come to a new turn in the development—a discussion of the term itself along with the discussion of the Eucharist and baptism—and to this advance in clarification we must devote another chapter.

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[1] Ibid. c. IX. 55.

CHAPTER II

The Formulation of the Definition of Sacrament

ST. AUGUSTINE (354-430.)

In the works of St. Augustine, we find the first attempt at a definition of sacrament. He does not develop the subject, and gives only incidental references scattered through his many epistles, sermons and commentaries. Indeed his ideas on sacrament seem very vague, and he comes back again and again to add something to his definition.

A sacrament is a "sacred sign," [1] or "signs, when they pertain to divine things, are called Sacraments." [2] In another place he says that "A sacrament is moreover in any celebration, when a commemoration of a thing done is so made, that something else is understood to be signified, which must be accepted devoutly." [3]

In a further explanation, Augustine says that sacraments must have a likeness of the things of which they are sacraments, else they are in no wise sacraments, and from their likeness to these things they receive their names. So according to this, the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ.[4]

Therefore they are called sacraments, because in them one thing is seen, another is understood.[5]

But perhaps a clearer understanding of his meaning may be secured from a passage in his Commentary on the Gospel of John. "'Now you are clean through the word which I have

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[1] De Civitate Dei. X. c. 5.

[2] Ep. 138. (alias 5.)

[3] Ep. 55 (alias 119.) . . . . Sacramentum est autem in aliqua celebratione, cum rei gestae commemoratis ita fit, ut aliquid etiam significari intelligatur, quod sancte accipiendum est. . . . .

[4] Ep. 98 (alias 23.)

[5] Sermon 272.

spoken unto you.' Why does he not say, you are clean through the Baptism with which you are cleansed, but he says, 'through the word which I have spoken unto you'; unless because in the water also it is the word that cleanses? Take away the word, and what is water but water? Add the word to the element, and there results a sacrament, as if itself also a kind of visible word. For certainly also he said this when he washed the disciples' feet: 'Whoever has bathed does not need but to wash his feet, but is clean every whit.' Whence is such virtue of the water, that it touches the body and cleanses the heart, unless it is done by the word, not because it is spoken but because it is believed? For also in the word itself, part is passing sound, part the virtue remaining." [1]

He repeats this definition in another work, and adds, "The virtue of the Word has cleansed us by water, because he walked on the waters." [2]

With such varied ideas making up his definition of sacrament, it is not surprising that his uses of the word should also be very vague. He speaks of Easter[3] as a sacrament, as well as the allegory of sacred numbers which he sees in the twenty-first chapter of John's Gospel.[4] Marriage,[5] Ordination,[6] circumcision, the Sabbath, and other observances of days are sacraments.[7] He is not quite consistent when he calls Noah's ark a sacrament, because of its likeness to baptism.[8] He even uses it in the old sense of a mystery.[9]

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[1] In Joannem Tract. LXXX. n. 3 . . . . Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit Sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum. . . . . Unde ista tanta virtus aquae, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo: non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur? Nam et in ipso verbo, aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens.

[2] De Cataclysmo.

[3] Ep. 55. (alias 119.)

[4] Ep. 55 (ad Januarium), c. 17.

[5] De Bono Conjugali, c. 24.

[6] Contra Epistolam Parmeniani, II. c. XIII. 28.

[7] De Spiritu et Littera, Lib. I. c. XXI.

[8] Contra Faustum, Lib. XIX. c. XII.

[9] Ep. 140. c. 14. Profundum sacramentum nos intelligere voluit.

To the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist[1] he devotes more attention and discusses their effect.[2]

The sacraments of the Old Testament were "shadows" [3] of those of the New Testament. Those of the New Testament give salvation, those of the Old promised a Saviour.[4] "Accordingly the first sacraments which were observed and celebrated under the Law, foretold the coming Christ: which when at his advent Christ fulfilled, were destroyed; and destroyed on this account, because fulfilled . . . and others were instituted of greater virtue, better utility, easier of performance, fewer in number." [5]

Perhaps the most important contribution Augustine made to the development of the sacramental theory was the distinction that he so carefully drew between "sacraments".[6] The sacraments may be common to all, but not the grace, which is the virtue of the sacraments.[7] Without this sanctification of invisible grace, the visible sacraments profit nothing.[8] However, the visible sacrament is not to be scorned, for the one who scorns it cannot be invisibly sanctified.

It is this distinction which he follows in his discussion of the validity of the sacraments of heretics and other wicked persons. "Not so are they therefore not Sacraments of Christ and the

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[1] Ep. 98. 9. (alias 23.)

[2] De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione. Lib. I. c. XXIV. 34.

[3] Ep. 82. (alias 19). 14.

[4] Enarratio in Ps. LXXIII. 2.

[5] Contra Faustum. Lib. XIX. c. 13.

[6] In Joannis Evang. Tract. XXVI. c. VI. 11. . . . . Nam et nos hodie accipimus visibilem cibum: sed aliud est Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti . . . .

[7] Enarr. in Ps. LXXVII. 2. . . . . Et cum essent omnia communia sacramenta, non communis erat omnibus gratia, quae sacramentorum virtus est. . . . .

[8] Quaestionum in Heptateuchum. Lib. III. q. 84. Nam sine ista sanctificatione invisibilis gratiae, visibilia Sacramenta quid prosunt? . . . . Proinde colligitur invisibilem sanctificationem quibusdam affuisse atque profuisse sine visibilibus Sacramentis, ... visibilem vero sanctificationem, quae fieret per visibilia Sacramenta, sine ista invisibili posse adesse, non posse prodesse. Nec tamen ideo Sacramentum visibile contemnendum est: nam contemptor ejus invisibiliter sanctificari nullo modo potest. . . . .

Church, because they use them wrongly, not only heretics, but also all the wicked and impious. But they ought however to be either corrected or punished." [1] The sacraments, which those separated from the unity of the body of Christ celebrate, can show the form of piety, but the invisible and spiritual virtue of piety cannot be in them.[2] In the good, the sacraments are unto salvation, in the evil unto damnation.[3]

It is by this virtue of the sacraments, grace, that "the members of the Body of Christ are regenerated with their Head." [4] Baptism he calls the laver of regeneration.[5] In the baptism of an infant, "who has not yet the effect of faith, it is answered that he has faith on account of the sacrament of faith, and that he is converted to God on account of the sacrament of conversion, because also the very response pertains to the celebration of the sacrament." [6] Sins are remitted by the strength of the sacraments.[7]

To sum up, St. Augustine gives us our first definitions of sacrament, and the distinction between the sacrament and the virtue of the sacrament, which is of so much importance in the later development of the sacramental system. But although his conception of sacrament as such is more clarified than that of his predecessors, he makes no effort to delimit the scope. He does definitely refer to Baptism and the Eucharist as sacraments, but is also vague in that he does not enumerate what ceremonies are or are not sacraments.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (c. 560-636)

It is not until the beginning of the seventh century that the sacraments became again a subject of even a brief discussion. Through all this time of ignorance and barbarism the rites of the

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[1] De Bapt. contra Donatistas. Lib. III. c. X. 13.
[2] Sermo LXXI. c. XIX.
[3] Contra Donat. Ep. (vulgo, De Unitate Ecclesiae.) Lib. I. c. XXI. 57.
[4] Enarr. in Ps. LXXVII. 2.
[5] Enarr. in Ps. LXXVII. 2.
[6] Ep. XCVIII. 9. (alias 23.)
[7] De Bapt. contra Donat. Lib. IV. c. IV. 5.

Church were undoubtedly of more significance than its theology, and the usages of the Middle Ages were being consecrated by the vastly extended clergy, spread by missionary effort through the northern peoples. No one, therefore, was likely seriously to speculate concerning the validity of what all took for granted. So it is rather as a matter of antiquarian interest than as a discussion of a live issue that the first encyclopaedist of the Dark Ages, Isidore of Seville, writing in Spain, at the beginning of the seventh century takes up the definition of sacrament, as a part of his encyclopaedic survey. The task he set himself was to gather together all the available learning of his day, in his "Origines" or "Etymologies." [1] In the section devoted to the sacraments, he quotes Augustine's definition, that a sacrament is in any celebration, which signifies something holy. The sacraments then are "baptism and chrism, the body and blood." [2]

In the next paragraph, however, Isidore says that "they are called sacraments on this account, because under cover of material things the divine virtue works salvation secretly, whence also from secret virtues, or from sacred, they are called sacraments." [3] This definition is a notable one, because it again brings the emphasis on mystery in the sacrament. Isidore is certainly not an original thinker, but so far any source for this definition seems unknown. It is not from Tertullian, from whom Isidore learned so much.[4]

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[1] On Isidore, see further Ernest Brehaut, An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville; who does not, however, translate chapter XIX.

[2] Etymologies. Bk. VI. cap. XIX. n. 39.

[3] Etymologies. Bk. VI. cap. XIX. n. 40. Quae ob id sacramenta dicuntur, quia sub tegumento corporalium rerum virtus divina secretius salutem (eorumdem sacramentorum) operatur, unde et a *secretis* virtutis, vel a *sacris* sacramenta dicuntur.

I have omitted the words in parentheses, because these seem interpolated from n. 41. See Heinrich Schwarz—"Observationes criticae in Isidori Hispalensis Origenes."

[4] Maximilian Klussmann, "Excerpta Tertullianea in Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiis collegit et explanavit."

CHAPTER III

The Eucharistic Controversy[1]

We now enter upon a period of reflection and controversy concerning the Eucharist, which engaged the attention of theologians for almost two centuries till it reached a climax in the condemnation of Berengar in 1079. This controversy was opened by the work of Paschasius Radbertus,[2] monk of Corbey and abbot about 842. He was versed in the theology of the Eastern Church, especially in the work of Cyril of Alexandria and John of Damascus, and from them and yet more from Augustine did he draw his inspiration, though in the main his treatment follows that of Ambrose. His book "Of the Body and Blood of the Lord" was the first to elaborate for western Europe the doctrine of the miraculous conversion of the elements in the Eucharist, which in the twelfth century received the name of transubstantiation.[3]

Paschasius' doctrine of the miraculous change of the elements into the real body and blood of Christ, after the consecration by the priest was also linked up with the mystical conception of the spiritual character of the Lord's presence in the Eucharist. For instance, he says, "These mysteries are not carnal, though they are flesh and blood, but are rightly understood as spiritual." [4] In this he preserved an important element in the teaching of Augustine.[5] But the more literal conception dominated. Radbertus' book was immediately challenged by Rabanus

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[1] On this whole subject, see Goetz, "Die Abendmahlsfrage," pp. 15–22.

[2] On Paschasius Radbertus, see further, de Ghellinck, Le mouvement theologique, passim, and Ernst, Die Lehre des hl. Paschasius Radbertus von der Eucharistie, Freiburg, 1896. Goetz, op. cit. pp. 3–10.

[3] See Gore, Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation, p. 236. "Paschasius appears beyond all reasonable question to teach a doctrine of transubstantiation."

[4] Ep. ad Frudegardum. (MSL 120. 1356.)

[5] Darwell Stone, A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. I, p. 217.

Maurus (c. 776-856), Archbishop of Mainz, and later, at the request of King Charles the Bald, by Ratrammus (d. c. 868). These, as later Berengar, upheld the view that the change in the elements in the Eucharist was not a material one, but only spiritual.

This whole controversy over the nature of the conversion of the elements is of interest to us here only because it brought a new emphasis and importance to the conception of sacrament. For a long time however there was no real change in the expressions used in the definitions of the term. The phrases used by Augustine and Isidore are repeated again and again by all the writers of the period, and it is only with Berengar that we find a really new definition—and this he attributed to St. Augustine.

Paschasius Radbertus himself, who began this great controversy by the publishing in 831 of his book "Of the Body and Blood of the Lord," takes his definition from Isidore—"The sacraments of Christ in the Church are baptism and chrism, and also the body and blood of the Lord, which are called sacraments on this account, because under their visible form, which is seen, the flesh is secretly consecrated by the divine virtue." [1] There is nothing original in this definition of sacrament, for it is taken almost word for word from Isidore.[2] It is a very definite use of the term, but alongside it, in the very same passage, we find that Paschasius uses it in the old vague sense, when he speaks of our redemption "by the sacrament of Christ's nativity and humanity." [3]

Rabanus Maurus' rejection of the theory of a miraculous conversion of the elements naturally had an effect on his conception of the term sacrament. He begins his discussion by quoting

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[1] Lib. de Corpore et Sang. Domini. c. III. 2. Sunt autem sacramenta Christi in Ecclesia baptismus et chrisma, corpus quoque Domini et sanguis, quae ob hoc sacramenta vocantur, quia sub eorum specie visibili, quae videtur, secretius virtute divina caro consecratur.

[2] See p. 29.

[3] Ibid. Sacramento vero nativitatis et humanitatis ejus, et nos redimimur ad veniam. . . . .

Augustine's definition and adds to it Isidore's, giving also his enumeration of the sacraments. He adds, however, that "in Greek it is called a mystery, because it has a hidden dispensation." [1]

"Yet there are more forms of baptism, which purge a man of sins and confer an increase of sanctity." Besides the baptism of water, there are the baptisms of the Holy Spirit and of martyrdom.[2]

In the same passage he says, "For souls are believed to be saved from the chains of sins through confession and through true penance[3] with the sting of tears," but he seems to find nothing sacramental in this, and does not include penance in his list of sacraments.

The significant point for us, here, is that he bases his belief in a spiritual rather than a material change in the Eucharistic elements on Augustine's distinction between the sacrament and the virtue of the sacrament. "The sacrament indeed is received in the mouth, the inner man is satisfied with the virtue of the sacrament. Therefore because bread strengthens the body, so it is fitly called the body of Christ: wine moreover, because it affects the blood in the flesh, so it is referred to the blood of Christ. These moreover while they are visible, sanctified then through the holy Spirit are changed into the sacrament of the divine body." [4]

This view, that the elements are changed "into the sacrament of the divine body" is a contrast to the view of Paschasius, that the elements are changed into the real flesh and blood of Christ, and which therefore maintains the identity of the Eucharistic and historical body of Christ.

The opposition of the views of Rabanus Maurus and others

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[1] De Universo. Lib. V. c. 11.

Also in De Clericorum Institutione. Lib. I. c. 24. and De Ecclesiastica Disciplina. Lib. II.

Unde et graece mysterium dicitur, quod reconditam habeat dispensationem.

[2] De Universo. ibid.

[3] Poenitentia. De Universo. Lib. V. c. 11.

[4] De Universo. Lib. V. c. 11.

seems to have impelled Paschasius Radbertus to send a second edition of his book, with a letter to King Charles the Bald, requesting him to have the question decided. King Charles sent the book to another monk of Corbe, Ratramnus, giving him two questions to answer, concerning this controversy about the Eucharist. (1) Is the Eucharist the body of Christ in a mystery or in reality? (2) What is the relation of the Eucharistic to the natural body? These questions of course rather limited the scope of his "Of the Body and Blood of the Lord," and he was not at liberty to develop the subject as he might otherwise have done. Paschasius had maintained that after the consecration by the words of Christ, his body and his blood were present on the altar.[1] To Ratramnus the bread and wine became, not palpably, but figuratively the body and blood of Christ.[2] He defends his position by quoting from some of the same authorities as Paschasius had used, and from several passages we learn how his idea of sacrament was based upon these. He gives Augustine's definition that sacraments must have the likeness of the things of which they are the sacraments.[3] To this he adds the distinction between the "sacrament" [4] and the "thing of the sacrament." "We confess that in the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, what is received without, is applied to the nourishment of the body: the Word of God moreover, which is the bread invisibly existing in this sacrament, invisibly by its participation, feeds the minds of the faithful by vivifying them." [5] From Isidore he quotes Augustine's "A sacrament is moreover in any celebration when a commemoration . . . is so made, that something else is understood to be signified . . ." "Saying this he shows that every sacrament

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[1] Goetz, Die Abendmahlsfrage, pp. 3–10.

[2] Goetz, p. 11.

[3] De Corpore et Sanguine Domini. XXXV.

[4] Ibid. XXXVI.

[5] Ibid. XLIV. Ista dicendo confitemur quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, quidquid exterius sumitur, ad corporis refectionem aptatur: Verbum autem Dei, qui est panis invisibiliter in illo existens sacramento, invisibiliter participatione sui fidelium mentes vivificando pascit.

in divine things contains some secret; and there is something which appears visibly, something else in truth—which must be accepted invisibly." [1] He follows Isidore still farther, that "under the cover of material things, the divine virtue works salvation secretly." [1] The sacraments are baptism, chrism, the body and blood—the enumeration which Isidore gave.[2] "Therefore they are called sacraments, because in them something is seen, something else is understood: what is seen, has a corporeal form; what is understood, has spiritual fruit." [2]

The teaching of Ratramnus had considerable currency in the later period. It reappears even in the "Homilies" of the English Aelfric (c. 955-1020?), and as we shall see shortly figured prominently in the Berengarian controversy, but later, as the views it advanced were definitely branded as heretical, it dropped from sight until, again at the Protestant reformation, it interested the Protestant theologians.[3]

BERENGAR OF TOURS (d. 1088)

The training of Berengar was unusual for his day. His earlier interests were in dialectic and the Roman Classical authors, from whom he derived a freer method than had been common. Later he came to a study of the Bible and of the Church Fathers, especially Gregory the Great and Augustine, but also Ambrose

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[1] De Corp. et Sang. Dom. XLV.

[2] Ibid. XCIII.

[3] An instance of this is seen in the fact that it was translated into English by Humfrey Linde in 1549, under the title "The Book of Bertram the Priest, concerning the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament."

Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, quoted it during his conference with Secretary Bourn: "Sir, it is certain that other before these (e. g. Carlstadt, Melanchthon, etc.) have written of this matter; not by the way only, and *obiter*, as do for the most of all the old writers, but even *ex professo*, and their whole books entreat of it alone, as Bertram."

It is interesting to note that the Catholics accused the Protestants of forging the work. Bourn says to Ridley: "He wrote *ad Henricum* (meaning Henry VIII), and not *ad Carolum*, for no author maketh any such mention of Bertramus."

A Conference between Nicholas Ridley and Secretary Bourn, Ridley, Works, pp. 158–159.

and Jerome.[1] As a pupil of Fulbert[2] at the famous school of Chartres,[3] he was much influenced by the teaching of his master, somewhat by his ideas,[4] but was not won over to his traditional theology of the beginning of the Middle Ages.[5]

About 1031 he was made Canon of Tours and head of the cathedral school, where he had many pupils. Before 1040 he was elected Archdeacon of Angers, but continued to reside at Tours. During the next ten years he developed views concerning the Eucharist which led to a controversy far more acute than that of the ninth century. His view was one of opposition to the accepted belief of the Church of his day, in a change in the substance of the Eucharistic elements. Before 1050 he was receiving letters asking him to deny the heretical views concerning the Eucharist which he was supposed to entertain. He evidently considered himself orthodox, for early in 1050 he wrote to Lanfranc, then Prior of Bec, affirming that he held the doctrine of John Scotus Erigena concerning the Eucharist, and rejected that of Paschasius, and declaring that if Lanfranc regarded John the Scot as a heretic, he must similarly condemn Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine. By a curious mistake of the period, however, it was Ratramnus' book "Of the Body and Blood of the Lord" to which he was referring as the work of John the Scot. His attitude, though, differed radically from that of Ratramnus—it was controversial rather than positive. His methods and terms were

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[1] Jacobi (Hauck) in Realencyklopädie, article Berengar von Tours.

See also, Hermann Reuter, Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter, passim.

[2] Fulbert of Chartres was not an original thinker—his importance was as a teacher, and his influence is shown in the splendid theological training he gave his pupils, among whom perhaps the most important was Berengar. Reuter (p. 89) says of him, "Nicht fähig originelle Gedanken zu entwickeln und mitzuteilen, hat Fulbert als Bildner der Eigentümlichkeit begabter Schüler seine Virtuosität in der anregenden Kraft seines Umgangs gezeigt."

[3] On Berengar of Tours, see also Jean Ebersolt, Essai sur Berenger de Tours et la controverse sacramentaire au XIe siècle. Revue de l'histoire des religions. vol. 48. 1903. pp. 1–42, 137–181.

[4] Darwell Stone, op. cit. I, p. 244.

[5] Jacobi, ibid.

those of the new dialectic. He had indeed been accused of "deserting authorities and taking refuge in dialectic," [1] to which he replied that "to take refuge in dialectic through all obstacles is the mark of the best judgment; because to take refuge in dialectic is to take refuge in reason, and he who does not take refuge there, seeing that it is in virtue of the possession of reason that man is made in the image of God, has deserted his own honor, and cannot be renewed from day to day in the image of God." [2]

The letter to Lanfranc, spoken of above, had a most unfortunate effect on Berengar's career. For its recipient was in Rome when the letter reached him, and since it had already been read by others, he gave the matter over to the pope, to save his own reputation for orthodoxy. Successive Church councils excommunicated Berengar and condemned his writings, and with them the book of Ratramnus, on which he had depended. Thrice did he recant and sign the statements[3] which the authorities presented, and at the end he could only purchase peace by his silence and retirement.

From this long period of controversy comes his best known work, "Of the Sacred Feast"[4] and in it along with his controversial discussion of the Eucharist, there is a treatment of the conception of sacrament, which contains a new definition of the term—"a sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace." [5] He attributes this to St. Augustine, but he gives no reference as he usually does in quoting the Fathers. This definition is not found in Augustine, though perhaps it rests upon the passage in which

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[1] See Berengarii Turonensis—De Sacra Coena, adv. Lanfrancum, edit. A. F. and F. Th. Vischer. p. 99.

[2] Ibid. p. 101.

[3] These decrees may be found in Darwell Stone, op. cit. I, pp. 247-257 and again in the article by the same on Berengar in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

For a further discussion of the controversy cf. Gore, op. cit. pp. 247 ff.

[4] The manuscript was discovered by Lessing in the library at Wolfenbüttel.

[5] De Sacra Coena. op. cit. p. 114. Est enim sacramentum praescribente beato Augustino *invisibilis gratiae visibilis* forma.

he asks, "For without this sanctification of invisible grace, of what value are the visible sacraments?" [1] We have already noted that Berengar was greatly influenced by Ratramnus, but this definition he found neither in the work of Ratramnus, nor in that of John the Scot himself, nor did it come from Fulbert of Chartres.

The distinction between "sacramentum" and the "res sacramenti" he made the basis of his argument for a more spiritual conception of the Eucharist. The "sacramentum" or the sacred sign is opposed to the "res sacramenti," that which is signified by the sacrament. "The sacrament is visible, the thing of the sacrament (*res sacramenti*) is invisible." [2] In his interpretation of the passage "If any man eat of this, he shall not die for ever," he quotes Augustine that this "pertains to the virtue of the sacrament, not because it pertains to the visible sacrament." [3]

LANFRANC (d. 1089)

Berengar's personal friend, Lanfranc, who was the famous teacher of logic and dogmatic theology at Bec, was naturally called upon to defend the doctrine of the conversion of the elements. This defence interested and occupied him for thirty years, and to his influence was due the desertion of Berengar's cause by Hildebrand and others at the Roman court. Lanfranc's views on the whole subject of the Eucharist he sums up in his book "Of the Body and Blood of the Lord" written some years after he became archbishop of Canterbury. In this he defines sacrament in several different ways. A sacrament is "a sacred sign," [4] but this is only one meaning of the term to Lanfranc.

"Sacraments indeed of those things of which there are sacraments always bear a likeness, just as in the sacrament, concerning

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[1] Quaestionum in Heptateuchum. Lib. III. q. 84. Nam sine ista sanctificatione invisibilis gratiae, visibilia sacramenta quid prosunt?

[2] De Sacra Coena. p. 245.

[3] De Sacra Coena. p. 245. Inquit, sed quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum.

[John 6, 51 b.]

[4] De Corp. et Sang. Domini. c. 12.

which the question is raised, while the host is broken, while wine is poured from the chalice into the mouths of the faithful, what other is represented than the sacrificing of the body of the Lord on the cross and the pouring forth of blood from his side?" [1] "In the form of bread and wine, which we see, we honor things invisible, that is the flesh and blood of Christ." [1]

"A sacrament is also called an oath, not because it has the likeness of that thing, but because a confirmation or negation of something is made on sacred things." [1] In this he returns to one of the original meanings of the Latin word "sacramentum," which we have already noted in Tertullian—the military oath. However he comes shortly to the more general concept, with the remark that "A sacrament is also called a consecration of anything." [1] With this rather vague conception of sacrament he names as the four ecclesiastical sacraments: faith, baptism, the consecration of the body and blood of the Lord, the remission of sins.[2]

With Berengar and his opponent Lanfranc and others ends a period in which the cruder views have begun to disappear. As the page of history is turned, the rising Scholasticism of the twelfth century takes up the task of formulating the doctrine of conversion, which these controversies had clarified.

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[1] De Corp. et Sang. Domini. c. 13.
[2] De Celanda Confessione.

CHAPTER IV

Efforts After Codification

In the survey of thought which leads to Peter Lombard we have now reached a period full of life and movement, crowded with significant names, and we shall do well at the outset to gain some appreciation of the interrelations between these teachers.[1] We have indeed come to a time of codification. For centuries men have been laboriously threading their way through mazes of thought concerning the sacraments, without much serious attempt to deal with the problem as a whole. The hour has now come for them to gather opinions and decisions and codify them into systems.

In this period Paris and Bologna are the great centers of teaching and disputation, and in these two classes are discernible—canonists and theologians. The canonists were connected in larger measure with Bologna, as were the theologians with Paris, and when the great wave of eagerness for learning came over Europe, the stamp which these men had given continued and the University of Paris, when founded, became prevailingly an institution for the cultivation of theology, as Bologna was the first law school.

The interest in codification was true of both these lines of ecclesiastical study, and reached its climax at the middle of the twelfth century in the two great text-books, Gratian's "Decretum," the culmination of the work of the canonists, and Peter Lombard's "Sentences," which in a similar way presents the conclusions of the theologians.

While most of the Masters who prepared the way for these

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[1] On this period, see Hastings Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, passim.

Also, de Ghellinck, Le Mouvement théologique, passim.

works studied either Canon Law or Theology, a few devoted themselves to both, though canonists could never wholly divest themselves of theological speculation nor theologians of the fascination of the law. As the body of knowledge increased and the provinces of law and theology were more clearly defined, it became impossible or unadvisable for one man to master both. It will be convenient, however, in this discussion to divide the teachers rather arbitrarily into the two classes of the canonists and theologians, and to begin the subject with the canonists.

ANSELM OF LUCCA

The first of these to demand attention is Anselm of Lucca (d. 1086), the nephew of the Anselm of Lucca who became Pope Alexander II, who made one of the earliest collections of canon law. In the ninth book of this collection, which he devotes to the sacraments, he names only those of the altar, baptism and confirmation.[1] No one can be saved without baptism, and without it no one ought to participate in the body and blood of the Lord.[2] However, the imposition of hands by the bishop is to be venerated rather than baptism.[3] He, too, makes the distinction between the sacrament and its virtue, for "the virtue of the sacrament is not in sacraments which those separated from the Church celebrate."[4] Heretics have sacraments and the Scriptures only in semblance, not for salvation.[5] In these last opinions he is resting upon Augustine's teaching.[6] This collection of canons was incorporated almost entire in the Decretum of Gratian, and therefore exercised a great influence on the development of canon law.

IVO OF CHARTRES

Ivo of Chartres, one of the most fruitful and learned ecclesiastical writers of the late eleventh and early twelfth century, is

[1] Collectio Canonica. Lib. IX.
[2] Ibid. Lib. IX. c. 27.
[3] Ibid. Lib. IX. c. 26.
[4] Ibid. Lib. IX. c. 56.
[5] Ibid. Lib. IX. c. 39.
[6] See p. 28.

best known for his work as a canonist. His first work was the "Decretum" in seventeen books, which served as the basis for his more perfectly organized and well-arranged "Panormia" in eight books, compiled about 1095 or 1096. He builds on the work of Burchard of Worms and on other, unknown sources, and is, in turn, one of the most important forerunners of Gratian. His views on the sacraments we see not only in his writings on canon law but also in several of his sermons. He speaks of the sacraments of the Eucharist and of baptism, but also vaguely and indefinitely of exorcisms, prayers, signing with the cross, the salt on the catechumens' tongue, and holy water, as sacraments. He treats of Penance and of the seven orders of the clergy, but does not call them sacraments.[1] His discussion of the seven orders of the clergy became the Tractate on orders added by a later hand to the "Summa Sententiarum," and so became, indirectly, a source for Peter Lombard's treatment of the subject in the fourth book of his "Sentences."

ALGER OF LIÈGE (d. c. 1131)

Alger of Liège, who acquired great renown in canon law and theology in the early part of the twelfth century. In his "Tractate of Mercy and Justice" he attempted to harmonize the seeming contradictions in the canon law, and in so doing gave many citations from the Scriptures and the Fathers, as proofs of his statements. This was one of the most important sources of Gratian's "Decretum," for in it Gratian not only found the Patristic citations that he needed, but also the explanatory chapter titles which the so-called Dicta Gratiani often borrowed, and from it adopted the arrangement of the book.

In theology, his book "Concerning the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord" ranked with the writings of Lanfranc and Guitmund of Aversa in maintaining the doctrine of transubstantiation against the writings of Berengar which had been condemned more than thirty years before. He was one of

[1] Sermo I, II, IV, V, VIII; Decreti Pars I, II.

the first to explain how the accidents of the Eucharist exist without the subject. He discusses the meaning of sacrament in the first book of this work, and gives the same definition which Berengar had given—"the visible form of invisible grace." It was not because he approved the opinions of that condemned heretic, but because he accepted that writer's accrediting of it to Augustine, and unlike Berengar, gave the reference to the Questions on Leviticus.[1] "Moreover it must be known that a sacrament and mystery differ in this, that a sacrament is a sign signifying something visible, but a mystery, something hidden signified by it." [2]

He also quotes Augustine's definition that a sacrament must have the likeness of that of which it is a sacrament, and makes the distinction between the sacrament and the "virtue of the sacrament." [3] He enumerates only the usual three sacraments—baptism, chrism, and the body and blood of the Lord.[4]

GRATIAN (c. 1095-c. 1150)

We have already mentioned three of the most famous early canonists, and come now to the master of the science of canon law, Gratian, whose work rests upon that of his predecessors, but greatly surpasses theirs. The very title of his book—"Concordia Discordantium Canonum" [5] (about 1142)—defines his

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[1] De Sacram. Corporis et Sang. Domini. Lib. I. c. IV. (Refer. in Aug.: Quaest. in Heptat. q. 84.)

[2] Ibid. Lib. I. c. IV. Sciendum autem quod sacramentum et mysterium in hoc differunt, quia sacramentum signum est visibile aliquid significans, mysterium vero aliquid occultum ab eo significatum.

[3] Ibid. Lib. I. c. V.

[4] Ibid. Lib. I. c. VIII. Also Lib. III. c. V.

[5] Commonly known as "Concordantia," as Boudinhon in Encyc. Brit. article, "Canon Law," but Heyer has shown that it should be Concordia. (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, v. XXXIII, Kanonistische Abteilung, v. II, 1912, pp. 336–342.)

On the date, see Paul Fournier, Deux Controverses sur les Origines du Decret de Gratien. Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses. III. 1898. pp. 97–116, 253–280.

"Le *Décret* de Gratian a été très vraisemblablement rédigé vers 1140, ou tout au moins à une époque plus voisine de 1140 que de 1150." p. 280.

purpose. It was bold thus to name it, for it acknowledges the lack of harmony in church law, and emphasizes the need of compilation and harmonizing. His method is the usual one of the period. He incorporates bodily texts from Scripture, letters and decrees of bishops and popes, as they had already been gathered by his predecessors, groups and comments on them, in his attempt to harmonize them. If they appear to disagree, one may be of local application only, the other of general; one may be later than another and a progressive development in church law may be admitted; and if these methods fail, he adopts the characteristic scholastic method of arguing that the meanings of words may differ at different times. His original comments are incorporated between the quoted texts, and known as the "Dicta Gratiani," the titles of which, as we have already seen, are often borrowed from Alger of Liège.

The "Concordia" or "Decretum," as it was soon wrongly called, became the manual in all the schools and universities, for canon law, as Peter Lombard's "Sentences" for theology, and was glossed and commented upon by Gratian's pupils and then by other famous canonists for succeeding centuries.

Though the "Dicta" often evince a certain freshness of thought, it is surprising to note that in the definition of sacrament, Gratian shows little or no originality. He quotes the familiar definitions of Augustine and Isidore,[1] and that of Berengar, that "a sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace." [2] In this passage, he says the sacraments are baptism, chrism, the body and blood.[3] But elsewhere, he speaks of the "sacrament of unction," [4] and he uses it quite vaguely of the dedication of a church of the giving of orders.[5] The "sacrifice of the altar is the sacrament of unity." [6]

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[1] Decretum. c. 84. Caus. I. Q. 1.
[2] Ibid. c. 32. Dist. II. De cons.
[3] Ibid. c. 84. Caus. I. Q. 1.
[4] Ibid. c. 39. Caus. I. Q. 1.
[5] Ibid. c. 106. Caus. I. Q. 1.
[6] Ibid. c. 63. Dist. II. De cons.

Some sacraments are of dignity, others of necessity. Those that are necessary to salvation cannot be repeated, but he does not state what these are.[1]

The sacraments may be performed even by unworthy ministers, "because the divine virtue works secretly in them, and this virtue or power is only of divine, not of human efficacy." [2]

"The sacrifice, moreover, of the church is accomplished in two, the sacrament and the thing of the sacrament, that is the body of Christ. There is therefore the sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ." [3]

"As the visible sacrament of water is necessary to the ablution of the visible body, just so the invisible doctrine of faith is necessary to the sanctification of the invisible soul." [4]

We have seen that these are phrases often repeated by theologians for centuries, and for anything new on the subject we must turn to the men whom Gratian influenced.

ROLAND BANDINELLI (d. 1181)

An example of the doctors of this period who were interested both in canon law and theology was Roland Bandinelli. In canon law he wrote a commentary on Gratian's "Decretum," the "Stroma" or "Summa Magistri Rolandi," in which he set forth views afterwards contradicted by some of his decisions when a few years later he was Pope Alexander III. In theology his book of "Sentences" followed very largely the method and style of Abelard's "Theologia," which we must discuss more fully in another connection. His intimate knowledge of canon law, however, made him much less dependent on Abelard than were his

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[1] Ibid. c. 39. Caus. I. Q. 1. VI. Pars. Sed notandum est, quod sacramentorum alia sunt dignitatis, alia necessitatis.

[2] Decretum. c. 84. Caus. I. Q. 1. . . . . Quid uirtus diuina secretius operatur in eis, et diuinae solummodo est hec uirtus siue potestas, non humanae efficaciae.

[3] Decretum. c. 48. Dist. II. De cons. . . . Conficitur autem sacrificium ecclesiae duobus, sacramento, et re sacramenti, id est corpore Christi. Est igitur sacramentum, et res sacramenti, id est corpus Christi.

[4] Decretum. c. 1. Dist. IV. De cons.

contemporaries, and he often combats Abelard's views.[1] Denifle argues that his Sentences were written between 1139 and 1141 or 1142, and so before the work of Peter Lombard.[2]

If this be so, it is striking to note that he mentions all seven sacraments, though not in as positive and settled a way as Peter does: baptism, confirmation, the sacrament of the body and blood (in which he treats also of the consecration of priests), penance, unction (in connection with this, the sacerdotal keys), and matrimony.[3] Denifle thinks his "Sentences" were used immediately by his contemporaries, and that we can see this influence in the Sentences of Magister Omnebene, whose work also was built up on the "Theology" of Abelard.

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[1] P. Heinrich Denifle, O. P., Die Sentenzen Abaelards und die Bearbeitungen seiner Theologia vor Mitte des 12. Jhs. in Archiv für Litteratur- u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters. I. p. 460.

[2] Denifle, op. cit. pp. 438, 603–605, 611.

P. Fr. Ambrosius M. Gietl, O. Pr., Die Sentenzen Rolands nachmals Papstes Alexander III Introd. p. XVII, thinks Roland's work comes after that of the Lombard, but his arguments do not seem to me conclusive.

[3] Denifle, op. cit. p. 460.

Roland Bandinelli—Sententiae, edited by Gietl.

Hic videndum est de clavibus sacerdotalibus . . . . Cum enim recipit ordinem sacerdotalem, simul et has claves recipit.

CHAPTER V

Predecessors of the Lombard

BONIZO OF PIACENZA

Turning now to the doctors who devoted themselves entirely to the study of theology, the first name of note is that of Bonizo, Bishop of Piacenza,[1] who wrote a short book on the sacraments in which he divides them into two classes: those instituted by the Lord, and those instituted by the apostles. Christ instituted baptism, which was necessary to salvation, and the Eucharist. The Eucharist took the place of the Passover, the "sacrament of the old law," which had been abolished at the last Supper,[2] when Christ said, "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer. For I say unto you, I shall not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God." [3]

"Now I come to the sacraments instituted by the apostles. . . . When anyone comes to be catechized, he seeks exsufflation by the priest, by which the unclean spirit is expelled; he receives salt at the hands of the priest, who says: *Receive the salt of wisdom, which is profitable for you to life eternal:* not because life eternal is given to the catechumens, but because salt is the sacrament of faith, which works through love and leads those baptized to life eternal." [4]

"Now we must pass to the sacrament of oil, which is divided into three parts. For there is the oil of chrism, by the signing

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[1] He was earlier Bishop of Sutri, which see he lost in 1082, being imprisoned by the Emperor Henry IV, because of his support of Gregory VII. He escaped from prison in 1085 and fled to Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, and shortly afterwards was elected bishop of Piacenza. His Libellus de Sacramentis was written after his elevation to this see.

[2] Lib. de Sacram.

[3] Lk. 22, 15.

[4] Libellus de Sacramentis.

with which the seven-fold grace of the holy Spirit is given. And there is the oil of exorcism, by which catechumens are anointed for the casting out of the enemy. And there is the oil of the sick for the health of the body and the preparing of the soul. . . ." [1]

The most significant point to note in this passage, in the light of later development, is the ascription of only two sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist, to Christ, while the others were instituted by the apostles. This was the common view[2] of the period, and for a century later, as for instance in Peter Lombard's statement that unction was "instituted by the apostles." [3] But the thirteenth-century theologians, on the contrary, assumed, that all seven were instituted by Christ.

ABELARD (1079-1142)

In the intellectual movements of the twelfth century the commanding figure is Master Peter, surnamed Abelard, born at Le Pallet in Brittany about the year 1079, of noble lineage. Though the eldest son, he renounced his claims and the possibility of a military reputation, saying, "I prefer the strife of disputation to the trophies of war."

Of his numerous books, the two which most influenced the men whom we are to consider, were the "Sic et Non" and the "Theologia," though these were not the most important for his theological doctrines. "The "Theologia," because of its plan, influenced several writers of books of Sentences, but the "Sic et Non" had a more striking effect on the period, because its method created so much controversy, and yet despite this, many contemporaries, otherwise conservative, were willing to learn much from it.

The method of the "Sic et Non" was characteristic of the man. Contradictory opinions of the Fathers and doctors of the Church were arranged under questions which were designedly

[1] Ibid.
[2] Lagarde, The Latin Church in the Middle Ages. p. 35.
[3] Lib. IV. Dist. XXIII. c. III.

asked in such a way as to suggest rather than declare his doubt as to the final statement. This method seemed to flaunt an attitude of independence toward the ancient authorities, but Abelard always claimed to be a faithful servant of the Church. It was in the prologue to this work that he laid down a defence of all criticism —"By doubting we are led to inquire, by inquiry we perceive the truth." [1]

His work is also an example of the love of codification characteristic of that age. Unlike Gratian and Peter Lombard he did not attempt to harmonize the opinions of church teachers, for he declared the principle that "ecclesiastical doctors are to be read not with the necessity of believing, but with the liberty of judging."

In two other ways than in method he taught contemporary writers. He was superior to all his predecessors in the gift for orderly arrangement, and this bore fruit in the "Sentences" of Roland Bandinelli and Peter Lombard. Again, his collection of patristic materials, though much of it was taken from the work of his predecessors as Alger of Liège, yet certainly it was very largely increased from his own wide reading, and many citations were for the first time put at the disposal of canonists and theologians.

The title usually given to Abelard's book, "Introduction to Theology," is wrong—it should have been simply "Theology" which was to be an introduction to the study of the Scriptures.[2] Part only of it has come down to us, but some of it may be inferentially recovered from four books of Sentences which evidently follow it very closely.

These four books of Sentences are the so-called "Epitome," the "Sentences" of a St. Florian manuscript discovered by Denifle, those of Roland Bandinelli and of Magister Omnebene. It is certainly not a matter of chance that these four books of Sentences begin with the words: "There are three things, as I judge, in which the sum of human salvation consists, that is,

[1] Sic et non Prolog e.
[2] Denifle, op. cit. I. p. 602.

faith, charity, and the sacraments" [1]—it is evident that this was borrowed from the "Theology" of Abelard. No other book outside the Abelardian school has such an *Incipit*.[2]

Also the plan of these four books was the same. Each follows the threefold division of faith, sacraments and charity. This was a better arrangement than the four-fold division of Peter Lombard.[3]

Abelard quotes Berengar's definition—"But a sacrament is the visible sign of the invisible grace of God, just as when anyone is baptized, the exterior ablution of the body, which we see, is the sign of the interior ablution of the soul, since the inner man is so cleansed from sin, as the outer from bodily stains." [4]

The "Epitome of Christian Theology," often attributed to Abelard, seems to be the first book we have that was influenced by Abelard's "Theology." The correct title is the "Sentences of Master Peter Abelard," [5] but it is really by a follower of his. Its author also quotes "A sacrament is the visible sign of invisible grace," [6] and names baptism, confirmation and the sacrament of the altar as "major sacraments." [7] These major sacraments cannot be repeated, and he explains concerning the Eucharist, that "the same host is not consecrated twice." [7] In another passage, however, he speaks of "the sacrament of marriage," [8] and in the chapter on the "sacrament of unction," he adds that "a Christian is thrice anointed, first when a baby, that is, in baptism, where sins are remitted; secondly in confirmation, where the gifts of grace are conferred; thirdly at the end of life, where either all sins, or the greatest part, are blotted out." [9]

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[1] Epitome. c. I.

[2] Denifle. op. cit. p. 599.

[3] So Denifle. op. cit. p. 600. Peter Lombard's division was probably taken from that in John of Damascus' "The Fountain of Knowledge" and derives originally from a fanciful reference to the four rivers of Paradise.

[4] Introductio ad Theologiam.

[5] Denifle. op. cit. p. 591.

[6] Epitome. c. I.

[7] Epitome. c. XXX.

[8] Epitome. c. XXXI.

[9] Ibid. c. XXX.

These four books of Sentences—the "Epitome," that of the St. Florian manuscript, and those of Roland and Omnebene—show clearly the direct influence of Abelard's teaching, but other writings of the period were indirectly affected by it, and to these we shall come presently.

ROBERT PULLUS (c. 1080-c. 1150)

Another influence against the heretical teaching of Abelard with its suggestions of new possibilities, was the work of Robert Pullus, the first English Cardinal. He was educated in England, was a Master at Oxford, and Archdeacon of Rochester, and then about 1135 went to Paris, and a few years later to Rome, where he was made Cardinal and Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church. He embodied his teaching in his "Eight Books of Sentences." "Sentences," of course, is an incorrect translation for the Latin "Sententiae," which means "opinions." The predecessors of the various Books of Sentences of this century had been called "Flores" or "Excerpta" and only occasionally "Sententiae." [1] His range of subjects is wide, but his book lacks orderly arrangement, and this makes it very hard to gather what his conception of sacrament was. In the fifth book he treats of the sacraments of baptism[2] and of confirmation,[3] and speaks of confession as our "second refuge after shipwreck," [4] baptism being the first. "The sacrament offers itself to the eye, the thing itself is traced out by the mind. A sacrament is made in the body, but the virtue of the sacrament in the mind." [5] In book six, he discusses Penance. "The sacrament however of binding and loosing is in the power of the vicars of God themselves, that is, the priests of the Church." [6] He also calls Penance the "sacrament of remission and absolu-

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[1] de Ghellinck, op. cit. p. 24.

On Robert Pullus, see the Catholic Encyclopaedia, s. v. See also de Ghellinck, op. cit., passim.

[2] Sententiarum Libri Octo. Lib. V. c. XVI.

[3] Ibid. Lib. V. c. XXII.

[4] Ibid. Lib. V. c. XXX.

[5] Ibid. Lib. V. c. XV.

[6] Ibid. Lib. VI. c. LXI.

tion." "Absolution is a sacrament, since it is the sign of a sacred thing. And of what sacred thing is it the sign, unless of remission and absolution?" [1]

In the seventh book he mentions incidentally the "sacrament of ordination" which must not be repeated, as baptism also is not to be repeated.[2] He speaks somewhat indefinitely of marriage as a sacrament, but speaks of the three good things in marriage as faith, off-spring and sacrament.[3] The latter part of this he takes from St. Augustine.

In the last book he discusses the "sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord," and also speaks of them as a sacrifice.[4]

It will be seen from these citations that Robert has made no distinctly original contributions to the more specific definition of sacrament. He is for the greater part simply repeating phrases with which we have already grown familiar. Yet one might have expected more and better of him, for other subjects in his tractates are often handled with force and not seldom with originality. Other phases of theological thought would seem to have better accorded with his genius. His books of Sentences enjoyed much popularity in his own time, but were speedily excelled in public estimation by the work of Peter Lombard, who was far more skilful in the statement of Scholastic formularies and had better success in meeting the wishes of the church authorities.

HUGH OF ST. VICTOR (c. 1078-1141)

Once more in the history of Catholic thought there appears a commanding personality, a man of varied parts, rich alike in powers of meditation, in gifts of teaching, and in powers of exposition. Hugh of St. Victor comes to the problem of the definition of sacrament from an entirely different point of view: that of the mystic. "With Hugh the material creation in its deepest verity is a symbol; . . . Scripture, besides its literal

[1] Ibid. Lib. VI. c. LXI.
[2] Ibid. Lib. VII. c. XIV.
[3] Ibid. Lib. VII. c. XXXIX.
[4] Ibid. Lib. VIII. cs. I, II.

meaning is allegory from Genesis to Revelation; . . . the means of salvation provided by the Church are sacramental, and thus essentially symbolical." [1]

The mysticism inaugurated by Hugh was quite evidently a reaction from the contentious theology of Roscellin and Abelard. It was fortunate for the new dialectic, that Hugh, who was eminently orthodox, should have adopted it, for it would otherwise have been condemned because of its connection with the heterodoxy of Abelard.

Hugh is important in the development of the definition of sacrament, for he begins its final formulation, gathering the scattered statements of Augustine into a large synthesis, and setting aside the Isidorean definition. Beyond this, his own originality achieved a new definition, more comprehensive than any preceding one, which was perfected by the author of the "Summa" and then passed into general acceptance in the schools.

Hugh, whose teaching at the school of the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris was so important for the development of Scholastic theology, devotes an entire treatise to the discussion of the sacraments, "Of the Sacraments of the Christian Faith."

"A sacrament is a corporeal or material element sensibly presented from without, representing from its likeness, signifying from its institution, and containing from sanctification some invisible and spiritual grace.[2] . . .

"Its likeness is from creation; its institution from dispensation; its sanctification from benediction. . . . There is therefore water the visible sacrament, and invisible grace, the thing (*res*) or virtue of the sacrament.[3] . . .

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[1] H. O. Taylor, The Medieval Mind. II. p. 90. Inge defines his system as modifying "uncompromising Platonic Realism by Aristotelian science." Christian Mysticism. p. 140.

Cf. also Harnack, History of Dogma (Eng.). vol. VI. p. 43.

[2] De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei. Lib. I. Pars IX. c. 2. Sacramentum est corporale vel materiale elementum foris sensibiliter propositum ex similitudine repraesentans, et ex institutione significans, et ex sanctificatione continens aliquam invisibilem et spiritualem gratiam.

[3] Ibid. c. 2.

"Add the word of sanctification to the element and there results a sacrament, so that visible water may be a sacrament representing from its likeness, signifying from its institution, containing from its sanctification, spiritual grace. In this way in other sacraments also it is necessary to consider these three things." [1]

It will be readily seen from these quotations that Hugh has borrowed much from the theologians who preceded him, and especially from St. Augustin, but the material is synthesized as it has not been before, and to this synthesis Hugh adds original discussion of his own.

His three-fold classification of sacraments is original. "For there are some sacraments in which salvation principally consists and is received, as the water of baptism, and the receiving of the body and blood of Christ. There are others which even if they are not necessary to salvation (because salvation can be had without them) yet are serviceable for sanctification, because by them virtue can be exercised and more abundant grace acquired, as the water of sprinkling, and the receiving of ashes, and the like. There are again other sacraments which seem to be instituted for this only, that through them those things which are necessary for sanctifying and instituting other sacraments, may thus be prepared and sanctified.[2] . . . The first therefore are founded for salvation, the second for exercise, the third for preparation." [3]

In another passage he speaks of the unction of the sick as a sacrament, which was instituted by the Apostles.[4] Marriage is also a sacrament, the only one instituted before sin.[5] He devotes a large part of this treatise "Concerning the Sacraments" to a discussion of Penance and the remission of sins, and though he emphasizes the sacerdotalism of confession and penance and absolution, he does not name it a sacrament.[6]

[1] Ibid. c. 2.
[2] De Sacram. Lib. I. Pars IX. c. VII.
[3] Ibid. Lib. I. Pars IX. c. VII.
[4] Ibid. Lib. II. Pars XV.
[5] Ibid. Lib. II. Pars XI. c. 1.
[6] De Sacram. Lib. II. Pars XIV.

Sacraments may consist in things, in acts, or in words.[1] The Blessing of palms on Palm Sunday is a sacrament, in memory of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The palm is the sign of victory, branches, of good works.[2] The breathing in exorcism, the spreading out of the hands, bending the knees are all sacraments in acts.[3] Others are in words, such as the singing of the Agnus Dei in the Mass, or the recital of the creeds. It is strange that he should still use the word sacrament in such vague senses, when he had so limited its meaning in the definitions he gave.

Hugh died in 1141, very shortly after the completion of this book, but the fact that his great gift had been as a lecturer made possible the wide dissemination of his views by the dispersal of his students, and accounts for the incorporation of his ideas in later treatises, and also for the attributing to him of unauthentic books, of which the "Summa Sententiarum" deserves consideration.

Summa Sententiarum

This "Summa," usually attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, is probably not his, but originates with some member of his school. The "Summa" was certainly written later than the "De Sacramentis," upon which it leans, while its doctrines and formulae give evidence of progress. Besides this, it borrows from the school of Abelard errors and formulae which Hugh made the objects of his attacks. The close examination which Pourrat has given it supports and extends these arguments by showing the differences in the sacramental teaching.[4]

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[1] Ibid. Lib. II. Pars IX. c. 1.
[2] Ibid. c. 4.
[3] Ibid. c. 1.
[4] Catholic Encyclopaedia, "Hugh of St. Victor," by Edward Myers.
Realencyklopädie—Hugo von St. Victor, by Zöckler.
R. Seeberg (tr. Hay)—History of Dogmas. vol. II. pp. 62, 80.
P. Heinrich Denifle.—Die Sentenzen Hugos von St. Victor, in Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters. Bd. III. pp. 634 ff.
Pourrat—La théologie sacramentaire.

The "Summa" contains a tractate on "Sacraments in General" and in the following tractates discusses the individual sacraments. It was one of the sources on which Peter Lombard evidently depended for quite a considerable amount of his material. This is clearly apparent from the style.

The fourth tractate begins the discussion of sacrament.[1] "Against sins original as well as actual, the remedies of the sacraments were invented, concerning which these three things must be considered: what a sacrament is, why instituted, and in what (things) it consists. Augustine: A sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing. The same: A sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace,[2] just as in the sacrament of baptism the interior ablution is figured through the exterior and visible. For any sacrament ought to have the likeness of that thing of which it is the sacrament. Wherefore Augustine: For if the sacraments do not have the likeness of those things of which they are sacraments, they are in nowise sacraments. It is objected that the aforesaid definition is not applicable to sacraments alone, since also before sanctification this applies to water so that it is the visible form of invisible grace, just as the stains of the body are taken away by water, so the stains of the soul through grace. But that it may apply to sacraments only, it must be understood thus: A sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace gathered in it, which the sacrament itself confers. For it is not only the sign of a sacred thing, but also its efficacy.[3] And this is what distinguishes between sign and sacrament; because for this that it be a sign it does not require anything save that it signify that of which it is held (to be) the sign, not that it confer it. But a sacrament not only signifies, but also confers that of which it is the sign or sig-

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[1] Cf. this following quotation with Peter Lombard, Lib. Sent. IV. Dist. 1.

[2] As noted above, this was wrongly attributed to Augustine by Berengar, and the mistake is ever afterwards repeated.

[3] Summa Sententiarum, Tract IV. c.i. Sacramentum est visibilis forma invisibilis gratiae in eo collatae, quam scilicet confert ipsum sacramentum. Non enim est solummodo sacrae rei signum, sed etiam efficacia.

nification.[1] . . . A sacrament not only signifies from its institution, but also represents from its likeness.[2]

However, the author of the "Summa" also uses it in the old vague way, "When sacred things or mystic" are spoken of in the sacred Scriptures, "as the sacrament of the Incarnation." [3]

The subsequent tractates in the "Sentences" deal with Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction and Marriage as sacraments.[4] Of these the most important is the treatment of penance, for the author saw the significance, in this connection, of emphasizing that power of the keys "which priests[5] have," for the administration of that sacrament in which the ecclesiastical discipline could be maintained. "These keys are discernment and power. For there is first to be discerned who are bound, who loosed; and afterwards the power must be used. In consecration, through the ministry of the bishop, these keys are given to priests alone. But it does not seem that either priests only or all priests have these; because many before ordination know who are bound and who loosed, many after consecration lack this knowledge; and so not all priests have these two." [5] The sacerdotal keys, then, are given in ordination, by a bishop, but ordination is not distinctly treated as a sacrament. This interest in the power of the keys perhaps shows the interest of a churchman for his order.

A part of the "Sentences" has come down to us as the "Theological Tractate" of Hildebert of Lavardin, Bishop of Mans and later Archbishop of Tours, at the end of the eleventh century.[6]

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[1] Ibid. Sacramentum vero non solum significat, sed etiam confert illud cujus est signum vel significatio.

[2] Ibid. Sacramentum non solum ex institutione significat, sed etiam ex similitudine repraesentat.

[3] Ibid. Quandoque in sacra Scriptura res sacra et mystica, sicut sacramentum incarnationis.

[4] Ibid. Tract. V, VI, VII.

See discussion of Tract. VII. in the Realencyklopädie article cited above, and in Denifle, op. cit.

[5] Ibid. Tract. VI. c. XIV.

[6] R. Seeberg, (tr. Hay.) History of Dogmas. vol. II. p. 62.

In this part we learn that "from the beginning of the world, both in the time of the natural law, and in the time of written law, there were the remedies of the sacraments against sins original and actual." [1]

This adequate treatment of the definition of sacrament by Hugh of St. Victor and his follower, the author of the "Summa," forms the climax of the development we have tried to trace, and brings us to Peter Lombard, who is able to enter into the heritage of many generations of theologians and sum up their work in the text-book which should teach the whole Church for centuries.

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[1] Hildebert, Tractatus Theologicus. c. XL.

CHAPTER VI

Peter Lombard and His Text-Book

1. Introduction

Manuals which gather knowledge or opinion and present it in orderly form often live longer and sometimes seem to exert an influence far exceeding the works of original genius. Donatus wrote in his "Ars Grammatica" the rules of composition devised by many, which he alone collected and ordered for common instruction. He had deserved fame as a teacher, to whom Jerome went as a pupil, but the "Ars Grammatica" became the school-book of the Middle Ages, was still in use at the Reformation, while its author's "name became a common metonymy (in the form *donet*) for a rudimentary treatise of any sort."

Still greater has been the vogue of Euclid, who in the third century before the Christian era produced his "Elements" which in varied forms are still the books of instruction for youth in the science of geometry.

Similar to the rôle played by these two is that of the greatest theological text-book of the Middle Ages, to whose author we have at last come.

2. The Life of Peter the Lombard

Peter Lombard, the "Master of the Sentences," was born in Lumello, not far from Novara, (which then belonged to Lombardy), probably about 1100. His family, both poor and obscure, was unable to educate the son and there was small hope for a career in the church until he found a patron in the Bishop of Lucca, who sent him to school at Bologna. The success in his studies achieved there made him wish to go to France and in this

desire again his patron helped him with a letter of recommendation to St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux.[1]

Bernard at first placed him in the episcopal school at Rheims, which then enjoyed a great reputation, under the headship of Lotolf,[2] where he remained but a short time. Paris was really the centre of the intellectual movement of the day, and it is therefore not surprising that Peter wished to go thither.[3]

Bernard, who had provided for his needs at Rheims, now wrote recommending him to Gilduin, Abbot of St. Victor, for the short stay which he intended to make in Paris.[4] The school of St. Victor was at that time famous for its learning. It was to this abbey that William of Champeaux had retired in 1108, and with him had come many of his pupils. William was made Bishop of Chalons in 1113, but his successor Gilduin, elected abbot the following year,[5] maintained the tradition of piety and learning, and to the school came students from all over Europe, of whom perhaps the most famous was Hugh of Blankenburg, better known as Hugh of St. Victor.

The Lombard probably came to Paris before 1139, just as Abelard had resumed his career as a teacher there. Probably Peter Lombard heard his lectures,[6] at least he read his books, for John of Cornwall tells us that "he frequently had his book in his hands." [7] He also studied Gratian's "Decretum," which had just been finished. And it was precisely these two influences, Abelard and Gratian, which most conditioned his later method of exposition.

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[1] F. Protois, Pierre Lombard, Eveque de Paris, son Époque, sa vie, ses écrits, son influence. pp. 27–29. Catholic Encyclopaedia, Peter Lombard. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Peter Lombard. Realencyklopädie, Petrus Lombardus. J. de Ghellinck, S. J., Le Mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle. pp. 126–130.

[2] Protois, op. cit. p. 30. de Ghellinck, op. cit. p. 126.

[3] Protois, op. cit. p. 31. de Ghellinck, op. cit. p. 127.

[4] Ep. 160. Protois, op. cit. pp. 31–32. de Ghellinck, op. cit. p. 127.

[5] Protois, op. cit. p. 33.

[6] de Ghellinck, op. cit. pp. 126–127.

[7] Frequenter prae manibus habebat. Eulogium ad Alexandrum III. c. III. (MSL 199, 1052.)

He soon gained the chair of Theology at the Cathedral School of Notre-Dame,[1] which he filled for many years, and in which he won great and enduring repute. By 1142, his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul had become known. In 1148 he was at Rheims with Robert of Melun, and joined Adam du Petit-Pont and Hugh of Reading as opponents of Gilbert de la Porrée in theological discussions. He is already well enough known to be consulted by Pope Eugene III,[2] and no greater evidence of the regard in which he was now held could be found.

Some time during the years 1148-1150 he was at Rome, probably on account of the troubles arising in the Paris schools.[3] While there he became acquainted with the work of John of Damascus, "The Fountain of Knowledge," which had just been translated by Burgundio of Pisa. This again shows us his interest in the latest publications. His own fertility of mind was matched with a desire to know the thoughts of others.

At the beginning of 1152, when his successful teaching at Paris had made his reputation, and when his "Libri Sententiarum" had just been finished, a bull of Eugene III gave him a prebend in the diocese of Beauvais,[4] again on the recommendation of Bernard of Clairvaux.

His teaching had been opposed in some points by Robert of Melun and Maurice de Sully,[5] but Peter endeavored always to keep it orthodox, though taking account of all the opinions of the day. He was always circumspect, always deferential to authority, and a friend of peace. His instruction, despite this opposition, was successful, and his pupils, realizing the merit of his lectures, begged him to publish them. To this request, we owe the celebrated Books of Sentences.[6]

In 1159, the bishopric of Paris was vacant by the death of

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[1] Protois, op. cit. pp. 34–39.
[2] de Ghellinck, op. cit. pp. 127–128. Protois, op. cit. p. 35.
[3] de Ghellinck, op. cit. pp. 127, 173–174.
[4] de Ghellinck, op. cit. p. 128.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Protois, op. cit. pp. 39–41.

Thibaut. Philip of France, fourth brother of King Louis VII, and Archdeacon of Paris, was elected to succeed him. He declined, but advised the canons to elect Peter Lombard, whose pupil he had been, and whose talents and services fitted him for this dignity. Later in the century, Walter of St. Victor accused him of gaining the election by simony,[1] but there seems to have been no just ground for this accusation.[2]

In July, 1160, Peter was succeeded in the bishopric by Maurice de Sully, a Master in Theology, and the builder of the present Cathedral of Notre-Dame. Peter died some time after[3]: the date is not known, but it cannot have been later than 1164.[4] In the cartulary of Paris we find his name mentioned a couple of times. The house in which he had lived was given to the Church of Paris, and Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, presented the original manuscript of the Sentences to the Cathedral Library, for the benefit of poor students.[5] It is most surprising that a man whose book has been so widely known, should be mentioned so seldom by contemporary historians.

3. THE LOMBARD'S EARLIER WORKS

From the earlier period of Peter Lombard's life three works have come down to us: the Commentary on the Psalms of David, the Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, and his Sermons.

For the study of the Scriptures the Middle Ages had a number of collections of the comments of the Fathers on the several

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[1] Episcopus licet simoniace intrusus in ecclesia. Excerpta ex Libris. Ex lib. II.

[2] de Ghellinck, op. cit. pp. 128–129. Protois, op. cit. p. 46.

[3] de Ghellinck, op. cit. pp. 129–130.

[4] He was buried in the church of St. Marcellus, near Paris. His epitaph reads: Hic iacet Magister Petrus Lombardus, Parisiis episcopus, qui composuit librum Sententiarum, glossas psalmorum et apostolorum, cuius obitus dies est XIII Kal. Augusti.

The recumbent effigy on the tomb is evidently from the century following, for the episcopal mitre is not correct for the Lombard's date. Protois, op. cit. p. 54.

[5] de Ghellinck, op. cit. p. 129, and n. 3.

books of the Bible. In the Lombard's time the most celebrated was that of Walafrid Strabo, known as the Glossa ordinaria, written in the ninth century. At the beginning of the twelfth century Anselm of Laon added new notes to this, between the lines, and his work was known as the Glossa interlinearis. Peter Lombard simply used this Glossa and composed his commentary almost entirely of citations from Augustine, Cassiodorus, the Glossa of Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus and others, which were included in the Glossa. Following their example, he does not entirely give up the literal sense of the passage, but always inclines rather to the spiritual and mystical interpretation.[1]

His commentary on St. Paul's Epistles was written about 1140. Like that on the Psalms it is hardly more than a compilation of extracts from the writings of Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, Cassiodorus and Remi of Auxerre.[1]

The Lombard's sermons are very hard to date. Some are probably from the time of his episcopate, others certainly seem to be from the period of his residence with the canons of St. Victor. Their pulpit was famous, and Peter must also have preached there. The sermons are still unpublished. Some of his sermons are said to be inferior in style to that of the Books of Sentences and would therefore lead us to believe that they were from an earlier period. Some also show quite strikingly the influence of the strong mysticism of St. Victor.[2]

4. THE "FOUR BOOKS OF SENTENCES"

The book on which Peter Lombard's fame rests, and from which he gained his title of "Master of the Sentences" was the "Libri Quatuor Sententiarum." This was probably written about 1150: this date seems to fit in best with the few facts that we know about his life, and with his use of Gratian's "Decretum" and John of Damascus' "Fountain of Knowledge," which Peter

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[1] Protois, op. cit. pp. 120–123.
[2] Protois, op. cit. pp. 123–149.

himself tells us had been translated by order of Pope Eugene III,[1] from the Greek into Latin.[2]

In the Prologue to the "Sentences," Peter Lombard declares that he has gathered the opinions of the Fathers into one volume, that the student may be saved the handling of a number of books. He makes no pretence to originality. The Middle Age was a period of codification in all branches of knowledge, and the Lombard follows a long line of canonists and theologians who had devoted themselves to gathering and codifying the opinions of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church on questions of doctrine. In the first half of the twelfth century, this parallel development of Canon Law and Theology was summed up in two great text-books, Gratian's "Decretum" or "Concordia Discordantium Canonum" and Peter Lombard's "Libri Quatuor Sententiarum." The legend that made Peter and Gratian brothers is untrue,[3] but it is at least an interesting expression of the comparison that the Middle Ages always drew between their two books.

Up to the twelfth century there had been no text-book for the study of theology. It is certainly interesting, then, to see how the Lombard systematized the theological teaching of the Middle Ages into a compendium which became the basis of the instruction in the schools and universities for centuries, and the starting-point for the work of all Catholic theologians.

In this task, Peter Lombard owed much to the work of his predecessors, and especially to the books of his contemporaries, which appeared a few years before his own. There are only about ten lines in the whole book for which no source can be found.

Abelard had already led the way in the systematizing of theology by his "Theologia," and we can see the widespread influence of this in several books: the "Sentences of Peter Abelard,"

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[1] I. 19, 13.

[2] R. Seeberg, *History of Dogma* (tr. Hay) pp. 62–63.
de Ghellinck, op. cit. pp. 127, 130–131.

[3] de Ghellinck, op. cit. pp. 122–126, 277–346.

or the "Epitome," as it is usually erroneously called, a collection of Abelard's opinions made by some of his pupils, the "Sentences" of Roland Bandinelli, later Pope Alexander III, of Omnebene, and most important of all, those of Peter Lombard.[1]

For his method, the Lombard was more dependent on the model of Abelard's "Sic et Non": [2] the gathering of "authorities" in a systematic, methodical way, for and against a doctrine. But unlike Abelard, he makes some attempt at reconciling the differences between his authorities, by subtle distinctions and clever inferences.[3] Peter states the proposition, quotes the authorities on the subject, which are often quite contradictory, and ends with a few words which show the true conclusion, as he sees it. He is always timid, always modest, and some of his conclusions are intentionally stated quite vaguely.[4] His humility and modesty are summed up admirably in the rather discouraged words at the end of one distinction, "If anyone can explain this better, I am not envious." [5]

In the arrangement of his book he does not follow Abelard's "Theologia." That was divided under the headings Faith, Charity and Sacrament. Peter Lombard's division into four books was perhaps taken from John of Damascus' "Fountain of Knowledge," which he followed quite closely in the first three books. In the Prologue he says that he will divide the books into chapters with titles, so that "what is sought may be found more easily." In this arrangement he was influenced by the Decretum.[6] Later, in the next century, it was divided into "Distinctions." [7]

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[1] P. Heinrich Denifle, O. P., *Die Sentenzen Abaelards und die Bearbeitungen seiner Theologia vor Mitte des 12. Jhs. Archiv fur Litteratur- u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters.* pp. 402–469, and 584–624.

[2] See above.

[3] de Ghellinck, op. cit. pp. 130–148.

[4] de Ghellinck—The Liber Sententiarum. Dublin Review, CXLVI. Jan. 1910. p. 157.

[5] Lib. IV. Dist. V. 3.

[6] Paul Fournier, Deux controverses sur les origines du Décret de Gratien. p. 114, and note 2. Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses. III. 1898.

[7] de Ghellinck, Le Traité de Pierre Lombard sur les sept ordres ecclésiastiques. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastiqué X. 1909. p. 722. n. 1.

The patristic authorities, which the Lombard cites in defence of every point in his arguments, he found mostly in the "Sic et Non" and in Gratian's "Decretum." It is probable that the gathering of many of the quotations from the Fathers in the "Sic et Non" was the fruit of Abelard's own reading, but certainly there were others in that period who were working at the same task.[1] Alger of Liège had also put together texts from patristic writings in his "Sentences," which were an aid to Peter Lombard's work, and some of which were incorporated in Gratian's "Decretum."

The frequently repeated phrase, "We are often asked" shows that Peter was considering all the questions and opinions of his age on the points in question and attempting to harmonize them. On the whole, he succeeds in remaining rigorously orthodox, but there was opposition to some of his views during his life-time and after. The Third Council of the Lateran in 1179, however, began one canon with "We believe with Peter Lombard." [2] In the thirteenth century the Masters of Paris condemned several propositions, which have since then been published at the end of the book.[3] The Lombard's rather vaguely-stated conclusions were an advantage to the book when used as a text in the schools, for it encouraged questions and comments on it by both masters and students.

The first book of the "Sentences" discusses the Trinity, the sacond the Creation and the Fall, the third the Incarnation, and the last the Sacraments and Eschatology. It is of course his discussion of sacraments which here concerns us.

Here much work had already been done by the theologians of the period, and Peter entered into their labors. In his "Sen-

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[1] de Ghellinck, The Liber Sententiarum. Dublin Review. Jan. 1910. p. 149.

de Ghellinck, Le Traité de Pierre Lombard sur les sept ordres ecclésiastiques: ses sources, ses copistes. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. X. 1909. p. 301.

[2] Cap. II. 2 (Mansi, v. XXII. p. 983.

[3] de Ghellinck, Le Mouvement théologique du XIIe Siècle, p. 163.

tences" Robert Pullus, the first English Cardinal, had given four of his eight books to a discussion of the sacraments, but his work was not systematically arranged, and a very slight comparison with Peter's shows what an advance the latter had made. His advance, however, was only possible by the help of the Cardinal's work.

In the "Theologia" of Abelard, as in the books of Sentences by his followers, the sacraments had been discussed at length. In the "Sic et Non," too, questions relating to the sacraments had been raised, and both these[1] had a marked influence on Peter's fourth book.

Hugh of St. Victor's last work before his death in 1141 was the "De Sacramentis Fidei." Much of this had been taken over word for word by the "Summa Sententiarum" which quite certainly is not by Hugh, but comes from his school. Originally, it had no tractates on the Last Things, on Orders or on Marriage. The tractate on Orders was taken from Ivo of Chartres, that on Marriage from Walter of Mortagne,[2] but these had been added to the other tractates before the Lombard's study of the book, for he made use of them both.

Fournier has made it certain that Gratian's "Decretum" was written before Peter Lombard's "Sentences," [3] and it is then quite clear that it was one of the sources for Peter's discussion of the sacraments. From the "Decretum" and from Abelard's "Sic et Non" Peter took the citations from patristic literature as "authorities" for his argument.

The Lombard transcribes literally passages from Hugh's "De Sacramentis" or from the "Summa" and adds citations of authorities which he took from Gratian. To-day, such methods would lay him open immediately to the charge of plagiarism, but in the Middle Ages, this was a correct literary method. Passages from the Fathers are given under their own names, at least to the best

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[1] de Ghellinck—The Liber Sententiarum. pp. 144–155.

[2] de Ghellinck—The Liber Sententiarum. p. 153.

[3] Paul Fournier, Deux controverses sur les origines du Décret de Gratien. Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses. III. 1898. pp. 97–116, 253–280.

of his knowledge of them, but those from works of his contemporaries quite anonymously.[1]

A few examples will make his method clearer. For his treatment of baptism, the Lombard is indebted to the "Summa," and to this he adds patristic quotations from the "Decretum." [2] For confirmation, he follows Hugh's "De Sacramentis." [3]

The "Summa Sententiarum" is the basis for the Lombard's teaching on the Eucharist. Some of it is taken word for word, other parts are changed about, and citations and discussion added from Gratian. To Abelard he owes the statement that the Eucharist is a memorial,[4] but he refers to the institution as an historical event, only to show why it should be received fasting. On the Eucharist, the Summa is in agreement with Abelard, so that the Lombard does not need to consider Abelard's views also.[5] Peter Lombard is evidently familiar with the contemporary writings on the Eucharist, probably with that of Alger of Liège, and possibly with the work of Rupert of Deutz.[6] The problem was already settled—the Berengarian controversy at the end of the eleventh century had completed the crystallization of the doctrine, and the Lombard had only to state the accepted view.[7]

In the discussion of penance and confession, however, Peter Lombard is obliged to unite several lines of development. There is still the ancient practice of penance which he finds in the quotations from the Fathers cited by Gratian, the newer conception of penance and confession as a sacrament, and the power of the

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[1] de Ghellinck—Le Mouvement théologique. pp. 141–148.

[2] Otto Baltzer, Die Sentenzen des Petrus Lombardus. Ihre Quellen und ihre dogmengeschichtliche Bedeutung. Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche. Bd. VIII. Heft. 3. 1902. pp. 124–128.

[3] Ibid. pp. 128–129.

[4] Dist. VIII. 3.

[5] Ibid. pp. 129–135.

[6] Died at Deutz, now part of Cologne, March 4, 1135. In 1111 he wrote his twelve books, De divinis officiis. He was a Platonizing mystic whose Eucharistic doctrine was the subject of a long dispute by the Maurists and by Bellarmine, in which his orthodoxy was alternately attacked and defended.

[7] Ibid. pp. 129–135.

keys.[1] On the conception of penance as a sacrament the Lombard is still rather hesitant, but on the other points his development is clear. In his treatment he again is influenced by Hugh of St. Victor, by the "Summa Sententiarum," but especially by Gratian, who in his "Decretum" devotes the long "Tractatus de Poenitentia" to the subject. Abelard, in this case, influences him indirectly through Gratian.[2]

The treatment of Extreme Unction follows the "Summa Sententiarum" and Hugh of St. Victor's "De Sacramentis," rearranged and combined with each other.[3] On the question of the repetition of the sacrament, he decides according to the practice of the day, which allowed it.[4]

There is only vague conception of ordination as a sacrament before Peter Lombard's "Sentences," though St. Augustine mentions it as a sacrament.[5] In his "De Sacramentis," Hugh speaks vaguely of ordination among the sacraments which prepare for others. The "Epitome" does not mention it as a sacrament, and the "Summa" says in the chapter on the "Two Keys" that these are given to priests only, in the consecration by a bishop. The Lombard names it in the list of sacraments, but beyond that speaks of it as a sacrament, only because it is the "sign" of the grace given to the clergy.[6] The rest of his treatment is devoted to a discussion of the seven orders, in which one finds with difficulty five lines that are original with him. From Gratian he took the canons relative to functions, from Hugh the example of Christ in fulfilling each of these orders, from Ivo of Chartres the ceremonies of ordination, and from Gratian the materials for the discussion of ordination by heretics and simonists. In describing the ceremony of ordination, he forgot the laying-on of hands.[7]

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[1] Ibid. p. 135.

[2] Ibid. pp. 135–147.

[3] Ibid. pp. 147–148.

[4] Ibid. p. 148.

[5] Contra Epistolam Parmeniani. II. c. XIII. 28.

[6] One of Augustine's definitions: a sacrament is a "sacred sign." De Civ. X. c. 5.

[7] Ibid. pp. 148–151.

Ivo of Chartres' sermon, "Liber de sacris Ordinibus" seems to have come to Peter Lombard indirectly through the "Sentences" of Alger of Liège.[1] Isidore of Seville and Ivo of Chartres were also sources for Hugh's treatment of the seven orders, in a passage which lacks the originality of other parts of his work.[2]

In the Distinctions on Matrimony, Peter Lombard at first depends on Hugh of St. Victor, but soon turns to the Canon Law side of the question, which he finds in Gratian. The sacramental significance of marriage, as a "sign of a sacred thing," the union of Christ and the Church, he finds in Hugh's treatise on the Sacraments.[3]

This is necessarily a mere sketch of the sources from which Peter Lombard gleaned his Distinctions on the sacraments, but it shows us quite clearly that his originality consists only in the successful compilation of materials ready to hand into a text-book useful for the Schools.

5. THE LOMBARD'S DEFINITION OF SACRAMENT

We have already traced the history of the many attempts to define the conception of sacrament. Peter Lombard stands at the end of this long development, summing up the work of preceding theologians, and giving his own definition, which with only slight changes in the wording was to be accepted for centuries.

But even with this long development behind him, he works slowly and cautiously at his definition.[4] He starts with the definition of Augustine—"A sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing."[5] To this he adds the definition of Berengar, attributed to St. Augustine—"A sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace."[6]

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[1] de Ghellinck, Le Traité de Pierre Lombard sur les sept ordres ecclésiastiques. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. X. 1909. p. 302.

[2] Ibid. pp. 290–302, 720–726. vol. XI. 1910. pp. 29–46.

[3] Baltzer, op. cit. pp. 151–159.

[4] Lib. IV. Dist. I.

[5] August. X. de Civ. Dei. c. 5 and II contra Adversar. Legis et Prophet. c. 9. n. 34.

[6] Berengar, De Sacra Coena (ed. A. F. and F. Th. Vischer.) p. 114.

Some signs, he continues, are natural, as smoke signifying fire, others conventional. And of these conventional signs some are sacraments, some not. For every sacrament is a sign, but not conversely. Like Augustine, he insists that a sacrament must have the likeness of that of which it is the sacrament.[1] These ideas he sums up in his definition—"For that is properly called a sacrament, which is in such a manner the sign of the grace of God, and the form of invisible grace, that it bears its image (i.e. signifies it), and is its cause.[2] Sacraments therefore were instituted not only for the sake of signifying, but also of sanctifying. Those which were instituted only for the sake of signifying, are only signs and not sacraments." [3] He emphasizes this power of the sacrament to sanctify, in a later passage: "Every evangelical sacrament accomplishes that which it figures." [4]

But Peter Lombard's definition is almost as interesting for what it does not say as for what it does. We have seen that his "Sentences" were much influenced by Hugh of St. Victor's "De Sacramentis" and by the anonymous "Summa Sententiarum." And yet in the definition of sacrament, he does not borrow their most characteristic statements. Hugh of St. Victor had said "A sacrament is a corporeal or material element sensibly presented from without, representing from its likeness, signifying from its institution, and containing from sanctification some invisible and spiritual grace." [5] The Lombard's definition has the advantage of being more elastic, for it allows the application of the term sacrament to penance and marriage, which are not bound to a corporeal or material element.[6] The definition which the "Summa" gives

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[1] Augustine, Ep. 98. (alias 23.)

[2] Thomas Aquinas says of this—"The sign of a sacred thing in so far as it sanctifies men"—Signum rei sacrae in quantum est sanctificans homines (III, Q. lx, a. 2.)

[3] Dist. I. 2.

[4] Dist. XXII. 3.

[5] De Sac. Lib. I. P. IX. c. II.

[6] G. L. Hahn, Die Lehre von den Sakramenten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung innerhalb der abendländischen Kirche bis zum Concil von Trient. 1864. p. 18.

is perhaps a little clearer than Peter's in the statement that the sacrament confers the grace—"A sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace gathered therein, which the sacrament itself confers; for it is not only the sign of a sacred thing, but also the efficacy." [1]

The number of the sacraments was naturally influenced by the growing definiteness of the conception of sacrament. Many ceremonies that could be called sacraments under the vague definition of Augustine: "The sign of a sacred thing," could no longer be so called when a more definite conception of the term had been developed.

Peter Lombard enumerates seven[2]: Baptism, Confirmation, the blessing of bread, that is, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination and Marriage. In stating this, he lays no claim to anything new. All of these had been called sacraments before the Lombard's time. Peter Lombard probably used the "Summa" after the tractate on Marriage by Walter of Mortagne, and that on Orders by Ivo of Chartres had been added to it,[3] and in this there was practically a recognition of the seven, though Ordination is only spoken of as the power of the keys which is conferred through consecration by the bishop. A clearer example of the enumeration of the sacraments as seven in number is found in the "Sententiae Divinitatis," which divides them into two categories, those which are generally common to all, as baptism, the laying-on of hands, penance, the body and blood of Christ, and the solemn unction of the sick, and those which are not common, as marriage, and holy orders.[4]

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[1] Summa Sententiarum. Tract. IV. c. I.

[2] Dist. II. 1.

[3] Realencyklopädie. Sakrament. (F. Kattenbusch.) Bd. 17. p. 359.

[4] de Ghellinck—A propos de quelques affirmations du nombre septenaire des sacrements au XIIe siècle. Recherches de science religieuse. I. 1910. pp. 493–497.

"Mais l'interêt de ce texte réside avant tout dans son antériorité sur Pierre Lombard, qu'a la suite de l'ouvrage de Hahn, l'on représente habituellement comme le premier temoin clair et net du nombre septenaire." Cf. Hahn, op. cit. p. 107.

It is evident, however, that the sacredness of the number seven[1] had a marked influence on this enumeration. Both here and in the list of the orders of clergy, we can see the anxiety of the medieval theologians to fit their systems in with the sacred number.

That the fixing of the number of the sacraments at seven was still quite a new idea is shown by the slowness of its acceptance. The Third Lateran Council in 1179 speaks of the induction of ecclesiastical persons to their seats, the instituting of priests, the burying of the dead and the blessing of marriages as sacraments.[2] This is the more surprising, as the Council was held under Pope Alexander III, who as Roland Bandinelli, in his "Sentences," had enumerated baptism, confirmation, the sacrament of the altar, penance, unction and matrimony, and in connection with the unction had treated of the keys which a man receives at the same time with sacerdotal ordination.[3]

The Lombard's enumeration, however, was soon accepted, and the acceptance of it was probably influenced by the sacredness of the number seven.

6. THE LOMBARD ON THE WORKING OF THE SACRAMENTS

We have seen that in the treatment of the definition and number of the sacraments, Peter Lombard stands at the end of a long development. His position in regard to the doctrine of the working of the Sacraments is quite in contrast to this. The simplicity of his treatment is that of the early Middle Ages, for in

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[1] The sacredness of the number seven can be traced back to the Babylonians. Cf. the legend of the seven evil demons. (See Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels, pp. 63 ff.)

[2] c. 7. (Mansi. XXII. 222 A.) Et vel pro perso is ecclesiasticis deducendis ad sedem, vel sacerdotibus instituendis, aut mortuis sepeliendis, seu etiam nubentibus benedicendis, seu etiam aliis sacramentis. . . . .

[3] Gietl—Die Sentenzen Rolands. p. 268. Traduntur autem he claves in promocione sacerdocii per ministerium episcopi. Cum enim recipit ordinem sacerdotalem, simul et has claves recipit.

the discussion of the effect of the various sacraments on the worshipper there had been little or no advance since St. Augustine.[1] In the century following the Lombard there were to be long discussions of the "materials" of the sacraments or the "elements," to use St. Augustine's term; of the "character" conferred on the worshipper, and of whether the sacraments worked "ex opere operato," that is, by virtue of the action, or "ex opere operantis," by reason of the agent.

The Lombard sums up his teaching on the effect of baptism in one paragraph: "The purpose of the institution of Baptism is the renewing of the mind; so that man who had been old through sin, might be renewed through the grace of baptism, which is accomplished by the putting off of sins and the taking on of virtues. For by this means anyone is made a new man, by effacing his sins and adorning himself with virtues. The effacement of sins drives out uncleanness; the acquisition of virtues conveys beauty, and this is the thing (res) of this sacrament, namely inward cleanness." [2]

Of confirmation, Peter Lombard says only that in this sacrament, "The seven-fold grace of the . . . Spirit, with all fullness of sanctity and virtue, comes upon a man." [3] "The Comforter is given to the baptized person, that he may be strengthened through the Holy Spirit to declare unto others that which he himself has obtained in Baptism." [4]

In his discussions of the working of several of the sacraments, it is interesting to note how the Lombard comes back to a comparison of the sacrament, of which he is speaking, to baptism. So in his treatment of the Eucharist: "Through Baptism we are cleansed, through the Eucharist we are made complete in what is good. Baptism extinguishes the fires of sin, the Eucharist restores us spiritually. Wherefore it is well called the Eu-

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[1] G. L. Hahn—Die Lehre von den Sakramenten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung, etc. p. 282.

[2] Lib. IV. Dist. III. 9.

[3] Dist. VII. 4.

[4] Dist. VII. 3.

charist, that is, good grace, because in this sacrament there is not only an evidence of virtue and grace, but He who is the fount and source of all grace is there received entire." [1] In another Distinction he adds; "Now this sacrament was instituted for two purposes: for the augmentation of virtue, that is, of charity, and for a remedy for daily weakness." [2] That Peter's doctrine of the working of the sacrament agrees with the Patristic view is shown by his acceptance of Augustine's: "And because we fall every day Christ is every day mystically immolated for us. For He gave us this sacrament of salvation, that since we sin daily, and He cannot die again, we may through this sacrament obtain remission." [2]

Peter Lombard also parallels Penance with Baptism. "Penance is necessary to those placed far from God, that they may approach Him. For it is . . . the second plank after shipwreck. Because if anyone should, by sinning, have sullied the robe of innocence received in Baptism, he can restore it by the remedy of Penance. The first plank is Baptism, where the old man is laid aside, and the new is put on; the second, Penance, by which we rise again after a fall, while the old state, which had returned, is repelled, and the new one which had been lost is resumed. Those who fall after Baptism can be restored through Penance, but not through Baptism." [3] Furthermore, "Penance is not performed once only, but may be frequently repeated, and . . . through it pardon is frequently and repeatedly obtained." [4]

As we have already noted, it was difficult for the Lombard to fit Ordination into the sacramental system. This is nowhere more clearly shown than in his attempt to state what is the effect of the sacrament on the one ordained. He can only say that, "Those in whose minds the seven-fold grace of the Holy Ghost is diffused, when they present themselves for ecclesiastical orders, in the

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[1] Dist. VIII. 1.
[2] Dist. XII. 8.
[3] Dist. XIV. 1.
[4] Dist. XIV. 4.

very advancement to the spiritual rank are believed to receive a fuller grace." [1]

7. ADJUSTMENT OF PENANCE AND ORDINATION TO THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM BY THE LOMBARD

The Lombard's rather hesitating treatment of penance and of ordination shows clearly that it was still a comparatively new thing to include them in the sacramental system. Following St. Augustine's distinction between the element and the word,[2] he had spoken in baptism, confirmation and the Eucharist of the "form" of the sacrament, the "word" which, added to the element, made the sacrament. It is striking, then, to find that neither in Penance, nor in Ordination does he discuss the form of the sacrament.

He speaks of Ordination as a sacrament because "it is a sign, that is, something sacred, in which spiritual power is given to the one ordained; and office." [3] In the discussion of baptism and of the Eucharist he had distinguished between the sacrament and the thing (res) of the sacrament, the spiritual, essential part of the ceremony or service, signified by the sacrament or outward sign. But this distinction he does not make in his treatment of Ordination. There is still a difficulty in fitting Ordination into the sacramental system.

There is a greater difficulty in including penance in the system, and we see this most clearly in his attempt to define what is the thing (res) of the sacrament of penance. "It remains to inquire which is the sacrament in the act of penance and which its 'res.' For a sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing. What then is the sign here? Some say . . . that the sacrament here is what is only done outwardly, namely the outward penance which is the sign of the inward, that is, of contrition of the heart and of humility. . . . Also, if the outward penance is the sacra-

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[1] Dist. XXIV. 1.
[2] August. In Joannem Tract. LXXX. n. 3.
[3] Dist. XXIV. 10.

ment and the inward its 'res,' the latter precedes the sacrament oftener than the sacrament precedes it. . . . But some say that the outward penance is also the inward sacrament and not two sacraments, but one, as the forms of bread and wine are not two sacraments but one. And as in the sacrament of the Body, so also in this sacrament, they say that one thing, namely the outward penance, is the sacrament alone, another the sacrament and the 'res,' namely the inward penance,[1] and still another the 'res' and not the sacrament, namely, the remission of sins. For the inward Penance[1] is also the 'res' of the sacrament, that is, of the outward Penance, and the sacrament of the remission of sin which it symbolizes and causes. The outward Penance is also the sign of the inward and of the remission of sins." [2]

This is certainly not very clear as one reads it, and one fancies it was not very clear to the Lombard either, as he struggled with the new problem of making penance suit the requirements of a sacrament, as it was now closely defined.

8. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "SENTENCES"

Let us conclude with a few words on the historical significance of Peter Lombard's work. He did not create anything, and his ideas, unlike those of Abelard, did not have the merit of originality.[3] Seeberg says, "Really, the only feature which challenges our admiration is the consistent development of the doctrine of the sacraments, and here Gratian had already led the way. But it was not only the commendable features of the work, but in even greater degree its faults, that won for it the unique historical position which it came to occupy." [4]

The Middle Ages needed a theological compendium and Peter Lombard gave the best in this period. He had a gift for compilation and system, and for conciseness and clearness. With the exception of a few statements he was rigorously orthodox,

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[1] Poenitentia.
[2] Dist. XXII. 3.
[3] Protois, Pierre Lombard, p. 40.
[4] Seeberg, History of Dogmas (tr. Hay) vol. II. p. 63.

and his orthodoxy secured the almost immediate success of his work. The impersonal treatment made it suitable for commentary by professor and student, and so made it invaluable as a text-book. The very fact that he had not drawn definite conclusions encouraged study of the problems he presented.

Its success was not complete for half a century, but meanwhile it passed quickly from Paris into Germany, England, Italy and the Low Countries. There were many commentaries on the "Sentences" by theologians of all schools of thought—Thomists, Scotists, Occamists, Augustinians—by all the doctors, in fact. Roger Bacon complains in 1267 that interpretations of the "Sentences" put those of Scripture in the shade. Erasmus said there were as many commentaries on the "Sentences" as there were theologians.[1] There was even a special degree conferred on those who had completed their study of the book: Bachalarius Sententiarus. It is not till the end of the fifteenth century that we notice the slow but gradual disappearance of the "Libri Quatuor Sententiarum."

De Ghellinck's praise is certainly most generous: "The work of Peter Lombard must remain in the theological past as the crowning work of several centuries of elaboration and as the corner-stone of all that has since been achieved in Catholic theology. . . . Those who have made progress have only achieved it aided by the work of the Lombard who prepared the way for them."

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[1] "There are as many commentaries on the 'Sentences' of Petrus Lombardus as there are theologians. There is no end of little *summas*, which mix up one thing with another over and over again and after the manner of apothecaries fabricate and refabricate old things from new, new from old, one from many, and many from one." Letter to Volzius in 1518, afterward published as preface to the new edition of the Enchiridion. (Quoted by Emerton, Desiderius Erasmus, p. 111.)

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION

Distinctions I-XXVI (earlier chapters) of the Fourth Book of Peter Lombard's "Sentences," which deal with the Sacraments, have been translated from the Latin, in the hope that they may be of use to some readers. My work has been painstakingly criticized and corrected by Dr. Louise R. Loomis, but I only am responsible for its errors, especially in the few passages where I ventured to disagree with her.

Poenitentia has been translated *penance* throughout, in accordance with Roman Catholic usage. *Res* presented much more serious difficulties. In the end, it was translated, in nearly every case, *thing,* and it has been left to the reader to learn the content of the Latin word. Other translations were suited to only a few uses of the word, or else seemed to interfere with accepted philosophic terms. The only other alternative was to leave it untranslated, as Harnack does, in his "History of Dogma."

The Biblical references and quotations are according to the Douay version, which in some instances differs from the King James Version.

APPENDIX

TRANSLATION OF BOOK IV, DISTINCTIONS I-XXVI OF THE *QUATUOR LIBRI SENTENTIARUM* OF PETER THE LOMBARD

Distinction I

PART I

I. *Of Sacraments*

The Samaritan who tended the wounded man, applied for his relief the dressings of the sacraments,[1] just as God instituted the remedies of the sacraments against the wounds of original and actual sin. Concerning the sacraments, four questions first present themselves for consideration: what a sacrament is, why it was instituted; wherein it consists, and how it is performed; and what the difference is between the sacraments of the old and the new covenants.

II. *What a Sacrament is.*

"A sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing (res)." [2] However, a *sacred mystery* is also called a sacrament, as the sacrament of divinity, so that a sacrament may be the *sign of something sacred,* and the *sacred thing signified;* but now we are considering a sacrament as a *sign.*—So, "A sacrament is the visible form of an invisible grace." [3]

III. *What a sign is.*

"But a sign, is the thing (res) behind the form which it wears to the senses, which brings by means of itself something else to our minds." [4]

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[1] Cf. Luke 10, 30.

[2] August., X. de Civ. Dei c. 5, and II. contra Adversar. Legis et Prophet. c. 9. n. 34.

[3] Berengar, De Sacra Coena. (See August., III. Quaestion. in Pentateuch. q. 84.)

[4] August., II. de Doctr. christ. c. 1. n. 1.

IV. *How a sign and a Sacrament differ.*

"Furthermore, some signs are *natural,* as smoke which signifies fire; others *conventional;*" [1] and of those which are *conventional,* some are sacraments, some not. For every sacrament is a sign, but the converse is not true. A sacrament bears a resemblance to the thing, of which it is a sign. "For if sacraments did not bear a resemblance to the things of which they are the sacraments, they could not *properly* be called sacraments." For a sacrament is properly so called, because it is a sign of the grace of God and the expression of invisible grace, so that it bears its image and is its cause. Sacraments, therefore, were not instituted merely in order to signify something, but also as a means of sanctification. For things which were instituted only to signify are signs only, and not sacraments; such as the sacrifices of flesh, and the ceremonial observances of the old law, which could never justify those who offered them; because, as the apostle says,[2] "The blood of goats and of oxen and the ashes of an heifer, being sprinkled, sanctify such as are defiled, to the cleansing of the flesh," but not of the spirit. Now this uncleanness was the touching of a dead body. Wherefore Augustine[3]: "By that defilement which the law cleanses I understand merely the touching of a dead body, since anyone who had touched one, *was unclean seven days;* but he was purified according to the law on the third day and on the seventh, and was cleansed," so that he might enter the temple. These legal observances also cleansed sometimes from bodily leprosy; but no one was ever justified by the *works of the Law,* as says the apostle[4], even if he performed them in faith and charity. Why? because God has ordained them unto servitude, not unto justification, so that they might be *types of something to come,* wishing that these offerings should be made to him rather than to idols. They therefore were *signs,* yet also sacraments, although they are often called so incorrectly in the Scriptures, because they were rather signs of a sacred thing than availing anything themselves.

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[1] August., II. de Doctr. christ. c. 1. n. 2. The following is from August., Epist. 98 (alias 23) ad Bonifacium episc. n. 9.

[2] Hebrews 9, 13; above on sacrifices, etc., Lev. 16, 15.

[3] Libr. IV. Quaestion. in Pentateuch. q. 33. n. 10.

[4] Rom. 3, 20: Gal. 2, 16. Also see Rom. 5, 14: "Adam, who is a figure of him who was to come."

These moreover the apostle[1] calls *works of the Law,* which were instituted only to signify something, or as a yoke.

V. *Why the Sacraments were instituted.*

The sacraments were instituted for a three-fold reason: for *humility, instruction,* and *exercise.* For *humility,* so that while man, by order of the Creator, abases himself in worship before insensible things, which by nature are beneath him, through this humility and obedience, he may become more pleasing to God, and more meritorious in his sight, at whose command he seeks salvation in things beneath him, yet not from them, but through them from God. For *instruction* also were the sacraments instituted, so that the mind might be taught by what it sees outside in visible form, to recognize the invisible virtue which is within. For man, who before sin saw God without a mediator, through sin has became so dulled that he is in no wise able to comprehend divine things, unless trained thereto by human things.—Likewise, the sacraments were instituted for exercise, because since man cannot be idle, there is offered him in the sacraments a useful and safe exercise by which he may avoid vain and harmful occupation. For he who devotes himself to good exercise is not easily caught by the tempter; wherefore Jerome[2] warns us: "Always do some sort of work, that the devil may find you occupied." "There are, moreover, three kinds of *exercises:* one aims at the *edification of the soul,* another aims at the *nourishment of the body,* another at the *destruction of both.*"—And inasmuch as without a sacrament, to which God has not limited his power, he could have given grace to man, he has for the aforesaid reasons instituted the sacraments. "There are two parts of which a sacrament consists, namely *words* and *things: words,* as the invocation of the Trinity; *things,* as water, oil, and the like."

VI. *Of the difference between the old and the new Sacraments.*

Now it remains to note the difference between the old and the new sacraments; as we call sacraments what anciently they called

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[1] Rom. 3, 20; Gal. 2, 16; Acts 15, 10.

[2] Epist. 125. (alias 4.) ad Rustic. n. 11.—This chapter and the two passages following are taken from the Sum. Sent. tr. 4. c. 1. and Hugh of St. Victor, I. de Sacram. p. IX. c. 3.

sacred things, such as sacrifices and oblations and the like. The difference between these Augustine[1] indicated briefly when he said, "because the former only promised and signified salvation, while the latter give it."

PART II

VII. *Of Circumcision.*

However there was among these sacraments one sacrament, namely that of circumcision, which conferred the remedy against sin which baptism now provides. Wherefore Augustine[2]: "From the time circumcision was instituted among the people of God, which was then a *sign of the justification of faith,* it had power to cleanse old and young from original and previous sin; just as baptism from the time it was instituted, began to have power to renew a man." So Bede[3]: "Under the Law circumcision brought the same aid, a health-bringing cure for the wound of original sin, which baptism has given during the time of revealed grace, except that the men of old were not yet able to enter the door of the heavenly kingdom; however being comforted after death by blessed rest in the bosom of Abraham, they awaited with happy hope their entrance into celestial peace."—By these passages we are clearly taught that circumcision, from the time it was instituted, was ordained by God for the remission of original and actual sin in children and adults, just as now remission is given by baptism.

VIII. *What remedy those had who lived before circumcision.*

We ask now of the men who lived before circumcision, and of the women who lived before and after, what remedy they had against sin. Some say, that sacrifices and oblations were efficacious for them for the remission of their sin. But it is better to say that the men who sprang from Abraham were justified by circumcision, and the women by faith and good works, either their own, if they were adults, or their parents', if children. As for those who lived before circumcision, the children were justified by the faith of their parents; parents on the other hand were justified by the efficacy of

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[1] Enarrat. in Ps. 73. n. 2.

[2] Libr. II. de Nuptiis et concupisc. c. 11. n. 24, and Gratian, C. *Ex quo* (6.), de Consecrat. dist. 4. See Rom. 4, 25.

[3] Homil. 10 (on Luke 2) in Circumcis. Domini.

sacrifices, that is, by that which they apprehended spiritually in these sacrifices. Wherefore Gregory[1]: "That which is accomplished in our time by the water of baptism, was effected in the time of the ancients by faith alone for children, or by the efficacy of sacrifice for their elders, or by the mystery of circumcision for those who sprang from the stock of Abraham."

IX. *Of the institution and purpose of circumcision.*

Here we must tell *when* circumcision was instituted; and *why;* and *why it was changed* into baptism.—Abraham first received[2] the command for circumcision as a test of obedience; nor of him alone was circumcision required but of his seed, that is, of all the Hebrews; which circumcision was performed according to the Law on the eighth day with a stone knife in the flesh of the foreskin. Moreover circumcision was ordained for many reasons, namely, that Abraham by his obedience to the command might please God, whom Adam had displeased by untruthfulness. Also it was ordained as a sign of the great faith of Abraham, who believed that he would have a son in whom all should be blessed. Next, it was instituted, that by this sign, this people might be distinguished from other nations. In the flesh of the foreskin also circumcision was commanded to be performed, because it was instituted as a remedy for original sin, which we inherit from our parents through concupiscence, which displays itself especially in this part. And because in this part the first man knew the guilt of disobedience, it is proper that there he should receive the sign of obedience.

It was performed on the eighth day with a stone knife, because both in the general resurrection in the eighth age to come, all corruption will be removed from the elect by the rock Christ, and by the resurrection of Christ which took place on the eighth day, the soul of whomsoever believeth on him is circumcised from sins: "There are therefore two parts (res) of this sacrament." [3]

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[1] Libr. IV. Moral. c. 3. in the preface; and Gratian, C. *Quod autem* (5.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

[2] Cf. Gen. 17, 10 f.; Joshua 5, 2 f.—This whole chapter is taken from the Glossa ad Rom. 4, 10; Gen. 17, 10, and John 7, 22.

[3] *Summa Sent.* tr. 4. c. 1 for all of the second part of this distinction. This last proposition the Summa took from August., tr. 30. in Ioan. n. 5.

Circumcision was changed to baptism on this account, because the sacrament of baptism is more general and more perfect, because increased by more abundant grace. For in circumcision only sins were remitted, but neither grace as an aid to good works, nor the possession or increase of virtues was obtained, as in baptism, where not only are sins removed, but also grace as an aid is conferred and virtues are increased. Hence it is called the *water of refreshment,*[1] because it makes the barren fruitful and endows the fruitful with larger productiveness; because however just any person comes to Baptism, through the faith and charity he already has, he there receives richer grace; but this is not so in circumcision. Wherefore to Abraham who was already justified by faith, it was only a *sign,* it bestowed nothing upon him inwardly.

X. *Of children who die before the eighth day, when circumcision was performed.*

If next we ask of the children who died before the eighth day, before which under the Law circumcision was not performed, whether they were saved or not; the same answer can be made as is made for children who die before baptism, who, it is certain, perish. Hence Beda:[2] "Who now in his Gospel terribly and profitably declares, 'Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God';[3] he also declared previously in his Law, 'A male the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people, because he made my covenant of no effect.'[4] Mayhap however, under the Law, in face of the approach of death they circumcised their sons without sin before the eighth day, just as now Baptism is administered in the church."

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[1] Loco supra cit. Also Comment. in Luc. 2.

[2] Cf. Ps. 22, 2. See on this, the Glossa *interlinearis.*

[3] John 3, 5.

[4] Gen. 17, 14.

Distinction II

I. *Of the sacraments of the new law.*

Let us now come to the sacraments of the new covenant; which are baptism, confirmation, the blessing of bread, that is the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination, marriage.[1] Of these some offer a remedy for sin, and confer helping grace, as baptism; others are merely a remedy, as marriage; others strengthen us with grace and virtue, as the eucharist and ordination.

If indeed we are asked why these sacraments were not instituted immediately after the fall of man, since in them are justification and salvation; we say that before the advent of Christ, who brought grace, the sacraments of grace could not be granted, for they have derived their virtue from his death and passion. Now Christ was unwilling to come before man was convinced that he could find help in neither natural nor written law.

Marriage, however[2] was instituted before sin, "not at all as a remedy, but as a sacrament and a duty"; after sin indeed it became a remedy against the corruption of carnal concupiscence; of which we will treat in its place.[3]

II. *Of baptism.*

Now let us consider the sacrament of baptism, "which is first among the sacraments of the new grace. The baptism of Christ, John foretold by his own baptism, and he is said to have been the first to perform baptism, but in water, not in the Spirit, as he himself says: 'I baptize you in water unto penance.'[4] He purified indeed only the bodies, he did not cleanse from sins."[5]

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[1] Rest of this distinction taken almost wholly from Hugh of St. Victor's I. *de Sacram.* p. VIII. c. 3. Cf. *Sum. Sent.* tr. 5. c. 1. See I. Cor. 10, 16.

[2] Hugh, ibid. c. 13. See Gen. 2, 24.

[3] See below, dist. XXVI.

[4] Poenitentia.

[5] *Sum. Sent.* loc. cit.—also for all that follows. See Matt. 3, 11; Mark 1, 8; Luke 3, 16; John 1, 26; Acts 1, 5. and 19, 4.

III. *Of the difference between the baptism of John and that of Christ.*

The baptism of John was unto penance, not unto remission; whereas the baptism of Christ was unto remission; for John baptizing men called to penance, and those whom he baptized he taught to do penance, according to this passage: "They came to John in the Jordan, confessing their sins." [1] But in the baptism of John sins were not remitted, as they are in the baptism of Christ.

IV. *Of what avail was the baptism of John?*

"What avail therefore had the baptism of John? By the practice of baptism, it prepared men for the baptism of Christ."—But we ask, why is it called the baptism of John, as the Truth says: "The baptism of John, whence is it?" [2] Because the work of John there was only the visible one of washing the outside, not the invisible grace of God working within. Nevertheless this work of John was also from God and his baptism was from God, not from man; but it was called *of man,* because nothing was there done that man did not perform.

V. *If his baptism was a sacrament.*

If indeed we are asked whether it was a sacrament; we may grant that it was, in the sense in which *legal symbols* are called sacraments. For the baptism of John signified a sacred thing, namely the baptism of Christ, which was not only to penance, but also to the remission of sins.

VI. *Of the form of the baptism of John.*

Here we must consider whether those baptized by John were again baptized with the baptism of Christ, and what form of words John used.—Those who were baptized by John, ignorant that the holy Spirit existed, and putting their hope in his baptism, were afterwards baptized with the baptism of Christ.—Also the baptism of John was performed *in the name of the Coming One.* So Jerome[3]

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[1] Matt. 3, 6; Mark 1, 5.

[2] Matt. 21, 25.

[3] Comment. in Ioel c. 2. See also Acts 19, 4. and 2. Cf. C. *Aliud est* (39.), de Consecrat. dist. 4. For the laying-on of hands on the baptized, see Acts 8, 17.

on Joel: "He who says that he believes on Christ, and does not believe on the holy Spirit, has not yet clear eyes. Wherefore those baptized by John *in the name of the Coming One,* that is, of the Lord Jesus, because they said: 'But we have not heard if there be a holy Spirit', were baptized a second time, or rather they received the true baptism." But they who had not placed hope in the baptism of John, and believed on the Father and Son and holy Spirit, were not baptized afterwards,[1] but received the holy Spirit by the laying-on of hands upon them by the apostles. Others again who did not so believe were baptized with the baptism of Christ, as we have said before. Hence Jerome[2]: "Those who did not know the holy Spirit, when they received the baptism of John, were baptized again," lest any one of the Jews or of the Gentiles should think that water without the holy Spirit could suffice for salvation. On this point also, Ambrose[3] in the first book on the holy Spirit: "Some denied that they knew the holy Spirit, since they said they were baptized with the baptism of John, who baptized in the name of the coming Jesus, not in his own name. These therefore, because they were not baptized in the name of Christ nor with faith in the holy Spirit, could not have received the sacrament of baptism; they were therefore baptized in the name of Christ, nor was baptism repeated for them, but renewed."

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[1] This opinion not usually accepted. See Bonaventura. Dist. II. Quaest. III.

[2] Epist. 69 (83.) ad Oceanum n. 6.

[3] Cap. c. 3. n. 41. 42, with some changes and omissions.

Distinction III

PART I

I. *What baptism is.*

In the next place we must consider what baptism is, and what its form is, and when it was instituted, and the cause of its institution.—By baptism we mean an immersion, that is, an exterior cleansing of the body administered under a prescribed form of words. For if the cleansing takes place without the word, there is no sacrament, but with the addition of the word to the element, it becomes a sacrament; not that the *element* itself becomes the sacrament, but the *cleansing* performed in the element. Wherefore Augustine:[1] "Baptism is consecrated by the word; take away the word, and what is water, except water? the word is added to the element, and it becomes a sacrament. Whence is this great virtue of water, that it should touch the body and cleanse the heart, unless it be by the word working? not because the word is said, but because it is believed. For in the word itself the passing sound is one thing, the virtue remaining is another." Therefore the sacrament of baptism consists of two parts, namely the word and the element. So that even if other things are lacking which were instituted for the beautifying of the sacrament, it is none the less a true sacrament and sacred, provided there be present the word and the element. For both in this sacrament and in others some things are customarily done for the beautifying and honoring of the sacrament, some things for the substance and purpose of the sacrament. The word and the element are of the substance of this sacrament, the other things heighten its solemnity.

II. *Of the form of baptism.*

But what is this word, the addition of which to the element, makes the sacrament? The Truth[2] teaches you, what is the form of

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[1] In Ioan. Evang. tr. 80. n. 3. and de Cataclysmo, c. 3. n. 3; C. *Detrahe verbum* (54.), c. 1. q. 1.

[2] Matt. 28, 19.

this sacrament when he says to the disciples: "Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Spirit." Therefore the invocation of the Trinity is given as the *word,* by which baptism is consecrated; and this is the form of words with which baptism is administered. Wherefore Pope Zacharias[1] says to Bishop Boniface: "It was most positively declared in the Synod of the Angles, that whoever was immersed without the invocation of the Trinity, did not have the sacrament of regeneration; a statement which is entirely true, because if anyone is immersed in the font of baptism without the invocation of the Trinity, he is not a complete Christian, unless he is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit."

III. *That the Apostles baptized in the name of Christ.*

Nevertheless we read in the Acts of the Apostles,[2] that the Apostles baptized *in the name of Christ;* but in this name, as Ambrose[3] explains, the whole Trinity is understood: "For when you say Christ, the Father is understood, by whom he was anointed, and he himself who was anointed, and the holy Spirit through whom he was anointed." Wherefore Pope Nicholas to the inquiries of the Bulgars[4]: "You assert that many were baptized by a certain Jew; and you ask what is to be done in that case. They certainly have been baptized, if they were baptized in the name of the holy Trinity or in the name of Christ, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles; for it is one and the same thing, as Saint Ambrose explains."

IV. *If baptism can be administered in the name of the Father, or of the holy Spirit.*

Here we are asked whether Baptism would be valid, if it were administered in the name of the Father only, or of the holy Spirit, as when it is administered *in the name of* Christ. Ambrose[5] seems to say, that if the mystery of the Trinity is accepted in faith, and but one person is named, the sacrament is complete; and conversely, if

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[1] Can. *In Synodo Anglorum* (83.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.
[2] Acts 8, 12.
[3] I. de Spiritu S. c. 3. n. 44.
[4] C. *A quodam Iudaeo* (24.) de Consecrat. dist. 4.
[5] Loc. cit. n. 42. Following is from ibid. n. 43, the third, n. 44.

three are named, and faith is not right concerning some one of them, the mystery is made void. For he says thus: "Where there is not the complete sacrament of baptism, it is accounted neither a beginning nor any form of baptism. Now it is complete, if you confess the Father and Son and holy Spirit. If you deny one, you destroy the whole. Just as if you mention one in the (baptismal) formula, either Father, or Son, or holy Spirit, and in faith deny neither the Father nor the Son nor the holy Spirit, it is a complete sacrament of faith; so also, although you say Father and Son and holy Spirit, and restrict the power of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit, the whole mystery is void." "For when you say *in the name of Christ,* through the unity of the name the mystery is complete; nor is the Spirit absent from the Baptism of Christ, because Christ baptized in the Spirit."[1]

"Now let us consider, whether, as we read that the sacrament of baptism is complete *in the name of Christ,* so also if we name only the holy Spirit, nothing is lacking to fulfil the mystery. Let us follow the reasoning: whoever has named one, has signified the Trinity; if you say Christ, you designate also the Father, by whom the Son was anointed, and him who was anointed, that is, the Son, and the Spirit with whom he was anointed. For it is written:[2] 'This Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the holy Spirit.' And if you name the Father, you indicate equally his Son and the Spirit of his mouth, provided that you include them also in your heart. And if you say the holy Spirit, you speak of God the Father from whom he proceeds and his Son, whose the Spirit is. Also, that authority may be added to reason, the Lord says:[3] 'Moreover ye shall be baptized in the holy Spirit.'" By these words he shows that we can rightfully be baptized in the holy Spirit.

From the above you have understood clearly that baptism can be administered in the name of Christ; whence it seems no less to be implied that true baptism can be administered in the name of the Father alone, or of the holy Spirit alone, provided he who baptizes holds the faith of the Trinity, which Trinity is signified by any of

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[1] John 1, 33; Acts 1, 5.

[2] Acts 10, 38.

[3] Acts 1, 5.

On the exposition of Ambrose, cf. Bernard, Tract. de baptismo c. 2. n. 7.

these names. But if anyone believing wrongly and intending to lead into error, mentions one only of the three, he does not fulfill the mystery. As for what Ambrose says, that the mystery is void even though the three are named, if he who baptizes lessens the power of the Father or of the Son or of the holy Spirit, that is if he thinks wrongly of the power of any one of these, not believing the power of the three is one; this must be understood of one who *does not intend* to baptize *nor believe* in baptizing, who not only lacks faith, but also has not the intention of baptizing.—Whoever therefore baptizes in the name of Christ, baptizes in the name of the Trinity, which is thereby understood. Nevertheless it is safer to name the three, so that we say: in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit; not *in the names,* but *in the name,* that is in invocation or in confession of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit; for thereby the whole Trinity is invoked, that it may work invisibly through itself, just as outside visibly through the ministry. If however we say in *the names,* then it is not a sacrament, because the form of baptism is not preserved.

PART II

V. *Of the institution of baptism.*

As for the institution of baptism, when it began, there are various opinions. Some say baptism was instituted, when Christ told Nicodemus:[1] "Unless a man be born again of water and of the holy Spirit," etc. Others say baptism was instituted when he said to the Apostles:[2] "Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit." But this he said to them after the resurrection, in his instructions for the calling of the Gentiles, while before his passion he had sent them two by two to preach in Judea, and to baptize, with the words:[3] "Go not aside into the way of the Gentiles." At that time therefore was baptism instituted, because they then both preached and baptized.

If now we are asked, under what form the apostles then baptized; we can surely reply: in the name of the Trinity, that is, under the form which they baptized the Gentiles afterwards; for we can

[1] John 3, 5. Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, II *de Sacram.* p. VI. c. 4.
[2] Matt. 28, 19.
[3] Matt. 10, 5.

understand that it was given them before the passion, although it is not so recorded. Christ did not therefore first give them this form, when he sent them to evangelize the Gentiles; but rather the form which he had given before when he sent them into Judea, he afterward repeated when he sent them to the Gentiles.—Accordingly it is more fitting to say that the institution was established, when Christ was baptized by John in the Jordan; which he arranged, not because he wished to be cleansed,[1] since he was without sin, but because "by the contact of his pure flesh he bestowed regenerating power on the waters," so that whoever was afterwards immersed, with the invocation of the name of the Trinity, might be cleansed from sin. At that time therefore the baptism of Christ was instituted, by which the Trinity, whose mystery therein was made known, baptizes a man within.

VI. *Why it is performed in water only.*

Moreover this sacrament is celebrated only in water, not in any other liquid, as Christ says: "Unless a man be born again of water," etc. And therefore we are directed to perform it uniformly in water, that we may understand that "just as water washes away uncleanness from the body and the garments, so baptism by purifying removes the stains of the soul and the uncleanness of vices." [2] Or for this reason, that poverty may excuse no one, as might happen if baptism were performed in wine or in oil, and in order that the common material for baptizing may be found everywhere; this is what the water, which flowed from the side of Christ, signified, just as blood was the sign of the other sacrament. Therefore baptism cannot be consecrated in any other liquid than water.

VII. *Of immersion, how many times it should be performed.*

If then we are asked how the immersion should be performed; we reply briefly, either once, or thrice, according to the varying custom of the Church. So Gregory:[3] "Concerning the trine immersion

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[1] Matt. 3, 16; Mark 1, 8; Luke 3, 22; John 1, 27. For the passage which follows: C. *Nunquam aquae* (10.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

[2] Ambrose, Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. 6, 4. (among Ambrose's works.)

[3] I. Epistolar. indiction. 9. epist. 43. (alias 41.), (some parts omitted). Also, C. *De trina mersione* (80.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

of baptism, no truer answer can be given than what you yourselves have already thought; that in the one faith of the holy Church diverse custom does no harm. For since in the three personalities there is one substance, there can be nothing reprehensible in immersing a child in baptism thrice or once, because in three immersions the Trinity of persons may be symbolized and in one the Unity of the Godhead. We indeed, who immerse thrice, also signify the sacrament of the three days' entombment."—According to this, it is allowable to immerse not only thrice, but also only once. However it is only allowable to immerse once, where such is the custom of the Church. If anyone should begin to do it where such was not the custom, or should assert that there should be but one immersion, he would make himself reprehensible. Wherefore Haymo:[1] "Cyprian abounded in his understanding when he immersed children once in baptism, because what he understood, he carried out zealously, abounding in good works, although he ignorantly did wrong in this respect: But because he abounded in good works, afterwards, when he had been rebuked by God, he abounded in a higher understanding, immersing children thrice."—Here you have it that he did wrong, who immersed once; but this was because the custom of his Church held otherwise, or because he asserted that only one immersion was allowable. As for the trine immersion Augustine says:[2] "After we professed to believe, we thrice plunged our heads into the sacred font, and this order of baptism is celebrated so as doubly to symbolize the mystery. Rightly were you immersed thrice, who received baptism in the name of the Trinity. Rightly immersed thrice because you received baptism in the name of Christ, who rose from the dead on the third day. For immersion thrice repeated is a type of the Lord's sepulture."—Therefore it is settled, that those who are to be baptized should be immersed thrice; and yet if they are immersed only once, they receive a true baptism. And he who immerses only once does not sin, unless the custom of his Church is different, or unless he asserts that it should be done only in this way.[3]

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[1] Exposit. in Epist. ad Rom. 14, 5.

[2] Serm. de Mysterio baptismi (among his works); and C. *Postquam vos* (78.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

[3] This and the preceding chapter from Sum. Sent. tr. 5. c. 4 and 10. (order changed somewhat.)

VIII. *When circumcision lost its power.*

Also we are frequently asked if circumcision lost its power immediately on the institution of baptism.—To this we reply that all commands of the law were terminated by the death of Christ. From that time therefore circumcision lost its power so that thereafter it did not help; it rather hindered those who performed it; but until the oblation of the true host it was able to help. For if before the passion the commands of the law had come to an end, Christ would not, when the passion was imminent, have eaten the Passover with his disciples.

IX. *Of the cause of the institution of baptism.*

The purpose of the institution of baptism is the renewing of the mind, so that man who had been *old* through sin, might be *renewed* through the grace of baptism, which is accomplished by the putting off of sins and by the taking on of virtues. For by this means anyone is made a *new man,* by effacing his sins and adorning himself with virtues. The effacement of sins drives out uncleanness, the acquisition of virtues conveys beauty, and this is the *object* (res) of this sacrament, namely inward cleanness.

If we are asked, whether baptism has opened heaven, which circumcision did not open; we declare that neither baptism nor circumcision opened to us an entrance to the kingdom, but the sacrifice of the Saviour, and if that had been offered during the time of circumcision, the men of that time would have entered the kingdom. Therefore the object of this sacrament is justification.

Distinction IV

PART I

I. *Of those who receive the sacrament and the thing (res), and the thing and not the sacrament, and the sacrament and not the thing.*

Here we must say that some receive the sacrament and the thing, some the sacrament and not the thing, some the thing and not the sacrament. All infants receive the sacrament and the thing at the same time, who are cleansed in baptism from original sin; although some deny that sins are forgiven to children who are about to die, and support this opinion by the word of Augustine:[1] Sacraments accomplish what they symbolize in the elect only; they do not understand that this must be interpreted: that, while the sacraments accomplish remission in others, they do not do it for them unto salvation, but only for the elect. For that in baptism sin is remitted to all infants, Augustine clearly says[2]: "From the new-born infant to the decrepit old man, just as no one is debarred from baptism, so there is no one who does not die to sin in baptism; but infants to original sin only, adults however to all sins which they have added to original sin by evil living," unless the enormity of their life prevents. Some also who are baptized with faith, receive the sacrament and the thing.

II. *Of those who receive it without sincerity.*

Those indeed who receive it without faith or without sincerity, receive the sacrament and not the thing. Wherefore Jerome[3]: "There are the washings of Gentiles, heretics, but they do not wash unto salvation. In the church also those who do not receive baptism with full faith receive water but not the Spirit." Augustine[4]

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[1] Seems to be gathered from Lib. II. de Peccator. meritis et remis. 27. n. 44.
[2] Enchirid. c. 43. n. 13; and C. *A parvulo* (134.), de Cons. dist. 4.
[3] Lib. IV. Comment. in Ezech. c. 16. 4.
[4] Enarrat. in Ps. 77. n. 2.

also says: "There were sacraments common to all Jews, but grace was not common to all, which is the virtue of sacraments, so now baptism is common to all baptized, but not the virtue of baptism, that is, grace itself." Likewise[1]: "Everyone who already has become the master of his own will, when he comes to the sacrament of the faithful, unless he does penance for his old life, cannot begin a new. From this penance at baptism, children only are exempt."—By these and other testimonies it is clearly shown that the true grace of remission is not conferred in baptism on adults without faith and penance, because remission is not given in baptism even to infants, who are not able to have their own faith, without the faith of another. If anyone therefore approaches without sincerity, not having true contrition of heart, he receives the sacrament without the thing.—Nevertheless Augustine seems to say, that all sins are pardoned even to one who comes without sincerity, who even hates his brother in the very moment in which he is baptized, but that after baptism the sins immediately return; but he does not make this as an assertion, but rather compares this view and the foregoing opinion. For he says thus:[2] To those who "are baptized with a false heart, either their sins are in no wise remitted—because 'the holy Spirit of discipline will flee from the deceitful'[3]—or else while remitted in that very moment of time by the strength of the sacrament, they are reimputed because of deceit; so that also this may be true[4]: 'As many of you as were baptized in Christ,' etc., and this[5]: 'the holy Spirit of discipline will shun the deceitful'; so that the sanctity of baptism adorns him with Christ, and the ruin of deceit deprives him of Christ." "For that sins remitted return, where there is not brotherly charity, the Lord also clearly teaches in the case of that servant from whom the Lord demanded the debt he had remitted, because he would not forgive his

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[1] Serm. 351 (alias 50. among the homilies) c. 2. n. 2; and C. *Omnis qui iam* (96.), ibid.

[2] I. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, c. 12. n. 19; also for the following passages, first n. 20; second ibid., below; third, n. 18; fourth, ibid., below. The first three are in C. *Quomodo exaudit* (41.), ibid. §6; the following, C. *Ostenditur illos* (32.), ibid. §2.; last, C. *Tunc valere* (42.), ibid.

[3] Wisdom 1, 5.

[4] Gal. 3, 27.

[5] Wisdom 1, 5.

fellow-servant." "Thus the grace of baptism is not hindered from remitting all sins, even though brotherly hatred persists in the mind of him to whom they are forgiven. For yesterday is forgiven, and whatever remains over; and the very hour and moment before baptism are forgiven even in baptism. Then however the man begins immediately to be guilty not only of subsequent, but also of past days, hours and minutes, as all those sins which were remitted return." This, as we have said before, he does not make as an assertion; as is shown from what he says in the same book, thus: "If an insincere man comes to baptism, his sins are forgiven him, or they are not forgiven; let them choose which they prefer."—You clearly discern, if you pay attention, that Augustine did not say it as an assertion, but as a question, and as a reference to the opinion of others. For he says the same: "Then baptism begins to have power for salvation, when the deceit departs in true confession, which, while the heart persevered in malice, did not allow cleansing of sins to take place." Therefore sins are not remitted to one who comes without sincerity.

III. *How this is to be understood: As many of you as were baptized in Christ, have put on Christ.*

We are asked therefore how this is to be taken:[1] "As many of you as were baptized in Christ, have put on Christ."—We can say that those who are baptized in Christ, that is, in conformity with Christ, just as they die to their *old sin*, as Christ to the old penalty, put on Christ, whom through grace they have dwelling in them. It can be explained in another way: For in two ways we are said to put on Christ: either by the receiving of the sacrament or by the comprehension of the thing. Wherefore Augustine:[2] "Men put on Christ sometimes as far as receiving the sacrament, sometimes as far as sanctifying the life; and the first may be true of the good and the bad; the latter is the distinguishing characteristic of the good and the pious." All therefore who are baptized in the name of Christ, put on Christ either by the receiving of the sacrament, or by sanctification.

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[1] Rom. 6, 4.

[2] Lib. V. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, c. 24, n. 34; and C. *Quomodo exaudit*, (41.) de Consecrat. dist. 4. §1.

PART II

IV. *That suffering and faith and contrition take the place of baptism.*

There are also some, as we said above, who receive the thing and not the sacrament. For those who shed their blood for the name of Jesus, even if they do not receive the sacrament, receive the thing. Wherefore Augustine:[1] "Whoever die for the confession of Christ, even though they have not received the washing of regeneration, yet it suffices to remit their sins, as much as if they were washed in the sacred font of baptism."—You have heard that suffering received for the name of Jesus takes the place of baptism. Not only does *suffering* take the place of baptism, but also *faith and contrition,* when necessity prevents the sacrament, as Augustine clearly shows when he says:[2] "The blessed Cyprian, in the fourth book on Baptism, thinks that what was said to the thief who had not been baptized: 'This day shalt thou be with me in paradise,'[3] affords no slight proof that suffering sometimes takes the place of baptism. I have considered this repeatedly and find that not only *suffering* for the name of Christ, but even *faith and turning* of heart, can supply what was lacking by baptism, if by chance, owing to the shortness of time, a man cannot be succored by celebrating the mystery of baptism. Nor indeed was that thief crucified for the name of Christ, but for the sake of his crimes; nor did he suffer, because he believed, but while he suffered, he believed. How much therefore can faith accomplish, even without the sacrament of visible baptism—is shown in the case of that thief, as the Apostle says: 'With the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation'[4]; but this is accomplished invisibly, when not contempt for religion, but the pressure of necessity prevents the mystery of baptism." "And certainly baptism can take place when there is no turning of the heart; whereas turning of the heart can exist when baptism has not been received, but it cannot exist when baptism is

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[1] Lib. XIII. de Civ. Dei, c. 7; cf. Bernard, tract. de Baptismo, c. 2. n. 8.

[2] Lib. IV. de Baptismo contra. Donatistas, c. 22. n. 29, and C. *Baptismi vicem* (34.) de Consecrat. dist. 4.

Passage from Cyprian really Epist. ad Iubaianum (73.), n. 22.

[3] Luke 23, 43.

[4] Rom. 10, 10.

despised; nor can it in any way be called turning of the heart to God, when the sacrament of God is despised."[1]—So, here you have it, that not only *suffering,* but also *faith and contrition* confer remission, where the sacrament is not despised as is shown in the case of that thief, who not by suffering, but by faith was saved without baptism. —But some say that Augustine retracted this. He did indeed retract his *example*[2] but not his *opinion.* For he says: "When I said in the fourth book that suffering can take the place of baptism, it was not enough that I mentioned the example of the thief, because it is uncertain that he was not baptized." It is established therefore that without baptism some are justified and saved. Wherefore Ambrose[3] on Valentinian: "'My bowels are in pain,' to employ prophetic eloquence, because I have lost him whom I was about to regenerate; yet truly he did not lose the grace, which he sought."

But there seems a contradiction to these views in what the Lord says:[4] "Unless a man be born again of water and of the holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."—For if this is generally true, the views expressed above do not seem to be true. But this is to be understood as applied to those who can be baptized and scorn it; or else it is to be understood thus: unless a man be born again of water and of the holy Spirit, that is, by that regeneration, which is accomplished through water and the holy Spirit, he will not be saved. This regeneration moreover is accomplished not only through baptism, but also through penance and blood. Wherefore, the authority[5] tells us, for this reason the Apostle said that "the foundation of baptism is plural, because there is baptism in water, in blood, and in penance." Moreover he does not say that the sacrament of baptism can be performed only in water, but that its virtue, that is, sanctification, can be given not only through water, but through blood or inner penance. Reason indeed urges this. For if baptism suffices for infants who are not able to believe, much more does faith suffice for adults willing but not able to be baptized.

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[1] August., ibid. c. 25. n. 32, and Can. cit. §4.

[2] Lib. II. Retract. c. 18. Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, II. De Sacram. p. VI. c. 7.

[3] De Obitu Valentin. n. 29; cites from Jer. 4, 19.

[4] John 3, 5.

[5] Glossa in Hebr. 6, 1 (in Lyranus.) Opinion that of Rabanus, on this passage.

Wherefore Augustine[1]: "Do you ask, which is greater: *faith* or *water*; I have no doubt what I should respond: *faith.* If therefore that which is less can sanctify, does not that which is greater? that is *faith,* of which Christ says: 'Whoever shall believe on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.'[2]—But some say that no adult believes on Christ or has charity without baptism, unless he sheds his blood for the Lord, supporting their view with the subjoined testimonies. Augustine[3] says: "From the time that the Saviour said; 'Unless a man be born again of water and of the holy Spirit' etc., without the sacrament of baptism no one, except those who shed blood in the Church, can receive eternal life." The same: "We believe that no catechumen although dying in good works, has eternal life, except he die in martyrdom whereby the whole sacraments of baptism are completed." The same: "We believe that the way of salvation is only for the baptized."—But the statements he makes less fully here he supplements in the chapters quoted above; and for that reason these passages are to be thus understood, that only those who have time to be baptized and are not, are excepted from salvation. For if anyone having faith and charity wishes to be baptized, and cannot because prevented by necessity, the goodness of the Almighty will supply what has been lacking in the sacrament. For while he can perform it, he is bound, unless he do perform it; but when he is not able, but wishes to do so, God, who has not bound his power to sacraments, does not impute it to him. But that there is invisible sanctification in some without the visible sacrament, Augustine clearly teaches, saying in his commentary on Leviticus,[4] "Invisible sanctification exists and benefits some without visible sacraments; but visible sanctification, which comes from the visible sacraments, can be present, but cannot benefit without the invisible. However the visible sacrament is not for that reason to be despised, because the one who despises it, cannot be invisibly sanctified. Hence Cornelius and those with him were baptized, although al-

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[1] Passage in Augustine not found, but a like opinion in Hugh, I. *De Sacram.* p. IX. c. 5.

[2] John 11, 25.

[3] (Fulgent). de Fide ad Petrum. c. 3. n. 43. Following passage is in libro Gennadii de Ecclesiast. Dogmat. c. 41, and C. *Catechumenum* (37.) de Consecrat. dist. 4. Third passage, ibid., a little below.

[4] Lib. III. Quaestion. in Pentateuch. q. 84. (Levit. 21, 15.)

ready sanctified by the holy Spirit.[1] Nor is the visible sanctification to be judged superfluous, because the invisible preceded it. Therefore the invisible sanctification without the visible can exist and benefit; but the visible which is caused by the sacrament only, is not able to benefit without the invisible, since therein is its whole utility. Visible baptism did not benefit Simon Magus,[2] because the invisible was lacking; but it benefited those in whom the invisible was present." Nor is another's faith so valuable to an infant, as his own to an adult. For the faith of the Church does not suffice for infants without the sacrament, because, if they die without baptism, even when they are being brought to baptism, they will be damned, as is proved by many authorities of the saints; on this point let one suffice. Augustine[3]: "Maintain firmly that infants who either begin to live in their mothers' wombs, and die there, or born of their mothers pass from this life without the sacrament of baptism, must be punished with eternal torture, because although they have no sins of their own doing, yet they have inherited original sin from their conception in carnal concupiscence." And as infants who die without baptism, are numbered with the infidels, so those who are baptized are called *faithful* and are not separated from the fellowship of the faithful, when the Church prays for the faithful dead. They are faithful, therefore, not on account of their own virtue, but on account of the sacrament of faith. Wherefore Augustine:[4] "An infant, although he has not yet that faith which depends upon the will of the believers, nevertheless has faith through the sacrament of that faith, that is, baptism; for as the response is made that he *believes,* so also he is called *faithful,* not because he assents to the truth by his own judgment, but because he receives the sacrament of that truth."

V. *What is the profit of baptism to those who come with faith.*

We are often asked concerning those who are already sanctified by the Spirit, and come to baptism with faith and charity, what

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[1] Acts 10, 44 f.

[2] Acts 8, 13 f.

[3] (Fulgent.) De Fide ad Petrum. c. 27. n. 70, and C. *Firmissime tene* (3.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

[4] Epist. 98. (alias 23.) ad Bonifac. n. 10, and C. *Nihil est aliud* (76.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

baptism confers on them. For it seems to offer them nothing, since they are already justified by faith and contrition, and their sins are already remitted.—To this we can rightly reply that they are certainly justified by faith and contrition, that is, purged from the stain of sin, and absolved from the debt of eternal punishment, but as yet they are held to temporal satisfaction, by which penitents are bound in the Church. When however they receive baptism, they are both cleansed from their sins, if they have committed any in the interim after conversion, and are absolved from exterior satisfaction; and helping grace and every virtue are increased in them, so that they can then truly be called *new men.* The incentive to sin is also lessened still more in them. Therefore Jerome[1] says, that the faith, which makes them faithful, is given or nourished in the waters of baptism; because it is there given sometimes to one who does not have it yet, and again it is given to one who has it that he may have it more fully.[2] This we must also understand of others.

VI. *What is remitted in the baptism of a just person.*

He who therefore comes to baptism clean is there made cleaner, and to the one *who already has faith, it is there given more fully.* That every external satisfaction is there discharged, Ambrose[3] shows in his comment on this passage: "For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance," [4] saying: "The grace of God in baptism does not require groaning or lamentations, or any work, but forgives all freely." This certainly must be understood of *external* groaning or lamentations; for without the interior groaning and lamentations, no adult is renewed; but exterior satisfactions and afflictions, that is, the mourning garments of penitents, are thereby remitted. Baptism, therefore, bestows much, even on one already justified by faith; because he comes to baptism, just as the branch was brought by the dove into the ark; before, he was within in the judgment of God, but now he is within, in the judgment of the Church also. But since sin is forgiven in baptism, and exterior satisfaction is not enjoined,

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[1] This passage not found in Jerome.

[2] Matt. 25, 29.

[3] (Among his works.) Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. 11, 29, and C. *Sine poenitentia* (99.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

[4] Rom. 11, 29.

someone may ask why the punishment of death, to which we are condemned for sin, is not taken away. The saints declare this is so, "because if men were freed from that punishment by baptism, they would think that, and not the eternal kingdom the reward of baptism. Therefore the guilt of sin being removed, temporal punishment still remains, in order that men may seek that life more eagerly, which will be free from all punishments." [1] Therefore death remains, that the faithful may have a cause for conflict, and an occasion for conquest, who would not conquer if they did not fight; nor would they fight if in baptism they were made immortal.

VII. *Of what thing (res) the baptism, which a just person receives, may be the sacrament.*

If someone asks of what thing that baptism may be a sacrament,[2] which is given to one already righteous, we say that it is a sacrament of that which has preceded it, that is, of the remission already granted through faith, and of the remission of temporal punishment or of sin, if any has been committed in the interim, and of the newness of life and of all grace there offered. It is in fact the sign of everything of which it is the cause. Nor should you wonder that sometimes the thing precedes the sacrament, since it sometimes also follows long after, as in the case of those who come insincerely, whom baptism begins to benefit when they afterwards do penance; in these cases baptism was the sacrament of the sanctification they have by doing penance.—But if they never do penance, nor abandon their deceit, of what thing (res) is the baptism they receive the sacrament? We can say: of the thing which would have taken place, if their wickedness had not prevented it.

We are often asked, if grace is given to infants in baptism, by which, when they reach the time of exercising free will, they can will and do good works.[3] As for adults indeed who worthily receive the sacrament we cannot doubt that they receive operative and coöperative grace, which withdraws from them, if they afterwards, of their own free will, sin mortally, and because of their sin destroy the grace bestowed. Wherefore they are said to offend the holy

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[1] Isidore, I. Sent. c. 22. n. 3; see also Augustine, XIII. de Civ. Dei, c. 4.

[2] Sacrament in the sense of sign.

[3] See Rom. 9, 16; II. Cor. 6, 1; below, Hebrews 10, 29.

Spirit and make him flee from them.—But as for infants, who do not yet employ reason, the question is whether in baptism they receive grace, by which when they come to later years they can will and do good works. It seems that they do not receive it, because that grace is charity and faith which prepares and supports the will. But who has said that they have received faith and charity? If they do not receive grace, by which they can do good works when they are grown; then the grace given them at this age in baptism does not suffice, nor by it now can they be good, unless another grace is added; if it is not added, it is not their fault, because they have been justified from sin.—Some think operative and coöperative grace is given to all infants in baptism as a gift, not for use, that when they come to greater age, they may receive the use of the gift, unless by free will they destroy the use of the gift by sin; so it is by their fault, not from the failure of grace, that they become evil; who although they are able to have good habits by the gift of God, have refused them through free will, and have chosen evil habits.[1]

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[1] For the solution, which the Lombard does not give, see Bonaventura, Comment. p. II. a. 2. q. 1. 2.

Distinction V

I. *That baptism is equally good when administered by a good, or a bad man.*

Next we must understand that the sacrament of baptism may be given by good and by bad ministers just as it is received by good and bad men. Nor is the baptism better which is given by a better man, nor less good, which is given by a less good man; nor evil, which is given by an evil man; nor is a greater gift given in baptism by a good man, nor a less given in baptism by an evil man, but equally, because the gift is not of man, but of God. All of this is taught by the following testimonies. Augustine[1] says: "For baptism derives its character from him through whose power it is given, not from him through whose ministry it is given." The same: "Certainly it can happen, that some may have true baptism and not have the true faith." Also: "If among good ministers, one is better than another, but the baptism which is given by the better one, is not better; so the baptism is in no wise bad, which is given by a wicked man, because the same baptism is given. And therefore by disparate ministers the gift of God is equal, because it is not theirs but his." The same[2]: "When a wicked man baptizes, the baptism which is given is the same, nor is it unequal on account of unequal ministers but like and equal, because of this word: 'He it is that baptizeth.'" The same[3]: "I say and we all say, that they through whom baptism is administered ought to be just; the ministers of such a judge ought to be just. Let these ministers be just, if they will; if, however, they who sit in the chair of Moses do not wish to be just, my master, that is Christ, makes me safe, for of him the holy Spirit says: 'He it is that baptizeth.'" The same[4]: "Whom Judas has baptized, Christ has baptized. If therefore a drunkard, a

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[1] In Ioan. Evang. tr. 5. n. 6, and C. *Baptismus talis* (26.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

[2] In Ioan. Evang. tr. 6. n. 8, and C. *Cum baptizat malus* (27.), de Consecrat. dist. 4. (See John 1, 33.)

[3] Ibid. tr. 5. n. 15, and C. *Baptismus talis*, (26.), ibid. §3.

[4] Ibid. n. 18, and C. *Dedit Baptismum* (46.), c. 1. q. 1. §1.

murderer, an adulterer has baptized anyone, if it was Christ's baptism, Christ has baptized. I do not fear the adulterer, nor the murderer, because I give heed to the dove, who says to me: 'He it is that baptizeth.'" The same[1]: "A murderer gave the baptism of Christ; which sacrament is so holy that it is not defiled when a murderer is ministering." The same[2]: "If in any heresy or schism anyone in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit has received the sacrament of baptism, he has received the entire sacrament; but he will not have salvation, which is the virtue of the sacrament, if he receives the sacrament itself outside the catholic Church. He ought therefore to return to the Church, not that he may again receive the sacrament of baptism, which no one ought in any case to repeat, but that in the catholic fellowship, he may receive life. For baptism cannot profit outside the Church. There only baptism can benefit him where mercy can benefit him, that is, in the Church." So Isidore[3]: "The Roman pontiff does not judge that it is a man who baptizes, but the spirit of God, who supplies the grace of baptism, even though he who baptizes may be a pagan." Whence you can easily see that true baptism is given to good and to evil, both by good and by evil, and yet it is equally holy and its gift equal for the good, whether they be baptized by good men, or by evil:

II. *Of the power and the ministry of baptism.*

Because they have only the ministry, not the power of baptism; for the power Christ retains for himself. Which John knew when he saw *the dove descending upon* Christ. Wherefore Augustine:[4] "What did John the Baptist know? The Lord. What did he not know? that the *power* of the Lord's baptism would not be given by the Lord to any man, but the *ministry* clearly was to be given: the

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[1] Ibid. n. 19. and in the same canon §2.

[2] Fulgent, de Fide ad Petrum, c. 3. n. 43.

[3] Can. *Romanus pontifex* (23.), de Consecrat. dist. 4. Passage cannot be found in Isidore, but in Egbert of York, I. Poenitent. p. I. c. 7, and Alger, III. de Sacramento c. 6.—Note below that the last proposition of the chapter is interrupted by the division of chapters.

[4] In Ioan. Evang. tr. 5, n. 11, and C. *Baptismus talis* (26.), de Consecrat dist. 4. §1. (See John 1, 33.)

power was to be given by the Lord to no one, but the ministry to good and evil. Let the dove not dread the *ministry of the wicked,* let him consider the power of the Lord. What does a wicked minister do for you, where the Lord is good?" " 'Neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase.' If the minister is proud, he is reckoned with the devil; but he does not defile the gift of Christ, because that which flows through him, is pure. Through a stony channel the water flows into gardens; in the stony channel nothing is produced but the garden bears very many fruits." [1]—Not only good men therefore, but also wicked, have the ministry of baptizing, but neither has the power of baptism. "For[2] Christ gave the ministry to his servants, but the power he himself retained, which if he had wished he could have given to his servants, that the servant might give his own baptism as if by his own power. And he could have appointed his power to some servant or some servants, so that there would be as much power in the baptism of a servant as there is in the baptism of the Lord; but he would not, lest a servant might put hope in a servant. A servant baptizes as a minister, the Lord baptizes as one with power; if he should give the power to servants, so that it would be theirs as it was the Lord's, there would be as many baptisms as servants, so that, just as the baptism of John was spoken of, so would the baptism of Peter or of Paul be spoken of. That this might not occur, the Lord retained for himself the power of baptism, but he gave the ministry to his servants. If therefore a servant says that he baptizes; he says rightly, but he baptizes only as a minister, and therefore it makes no difference whether a good or an evil man baptizes." "Therefore also no one says 'my baptism,' although he says 'my Gospel,' 'my prudence,' yet these things are from God. In these there is a difference: for one man works better than another in evangelizing, and one is more prudent than another; but it cannot be said that one is more or less baptized than another, or that one is baptized by an inferior or by a greater." [3]

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[1] Augustine, ibid. n. 15, and C. *Si iustus* (30.), c. 1. q. 1; quotes I. Cor. 3, 7.

[2] Ibid. n. 7. (much omitted by the Lombard.)

[3] August., V. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, c. 14. n. 16, and C. *Cum tantum* (47.), de Consecrat. dist. 4. §1.

III. *What was the power of baptism, which Christ could have given to his servants and did not give?*

Here we are asked, what was that power of baptism, which Christ retained for himself and which he could have given his servants.—This is, as very many assert, the power of remitting sins in baptism.—But the power of remitting sins which is in God, is God. Therefore some say that he could not have given this power to any of his servants, because he could have given to no one to be what he himself is, or to have the essence which he himself has, for to him to be is to have power. They say then: if he could give this power to anyone, he could empower him to create creatures, because the latter is no greater power than the former.[1]—To which we can say that he could give them the power of remitting sins. Yet not that same power by which he is powerful, but created power, by which the servant could remit sins; not however as the author of remission, but as the minister and not without God as the author; just as in the ministry the servant has power to sanctify externally, so in the ministry he would have power to cleanse inwardly; and just as he did this cleansing with God the author who works the external cleansing with him, so he would cleanse inwardly with God as the author, who would use his word as a form of ministry. So also God could create anything through anyone, not through the man as author, but as minister, with whom and in whom he would work; just as in our good works, he works and we: neither he alone, nor we alone, but he with us and in us, and yet we are his ministers in accomplishing these good works, not authors. Thus he could have given the servant the power of remitting sins in baptism, that is, that in the inward cleansing the servant should work with the Lord; not the servant without the Lord, nor the Lord without the servant, but the Lord with the servant and in the servant, just as in the outward ministry the Lord works with the servant and in the servant. Wherefore both the Lord and the servant are said to sanctify; but the Lord by invisible grace, the servant by the visible sacrament. So Augustine in his commentary on Leviticus[2]: "The Lord says: 'I the Lord, who sanctify'[3]; and concerning Moses also

[1] Cf. Glossa apud Lyranum Ioan. 14, 12.
[2] Lib. III. Quaestion. in Pentateuch. q. 84.
[3] Levit. 21, 15.

it is said: 'And thou shalt sanctify him.' [1] But Moses sanctifies with visible sacraments through the ministry, but the Lord with invisible grace through the Spirit, wherein is the whole fruit of the visible sacraments. Without this sanctification visible sacraments profit nothing"—If anyone can explain this better, I am not envious.[2]

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[1] Exod. 29, 24.

[2] This opinion is not commonly accepted. See Bonaventura, Comment. a. 3.

Distinction VI

PART I

I. *Who are permitted to baptize.*

Let us now further consider who are permitted to baptize. On this point Isidore says[1]: "It is established that baptism is administered only by priests, and it is not lawful even for deacons to perform the ministry of it without a bishop or priest, unless, when they are absent at a distance, extreme necessity of weakness requires it, and then it is also allowable for the faithful laity to baptize." From the fourth Council of Carthage:[2] "Let no woman, no matter how holy, presume to baptize, unless necessity compels her."

II. *If those baptized by heretics must be rebaptized.*

As for those who were baptized by heretics, we are often asked whether they should be rebaptized.—To this we say briefly that whoever it is who baptizes, if he follows the form given by Christ, he gives true baptism; therefore he who receives it ought not be rebaptized. Wherefore Bede[3]: "If anyone, whether he be heretic or schismatic or criminal baptizes in the confession of the holy Trinity, it is not well that he who was baptized, should be rebaptized by good Catholics, lest the confession and invocation of the Trinity seem to be made of no effect." Also Augustine[4]: "Although the baptism of heretics, that is of those who baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit, be the same as that of the catholic Church, yet those persons who were baptized outside the

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[1] Lib. II. de Ecclesiast. Officiis, c. 25. n. 9; C. *Constat, baptisma* (19.), de Consecrat. dist. 4.

[2] Num. 99 and 100; C. *Mulier* (20.), ibid.

[3] Homil. aestiv. de Temp. in festo Invent. S. Crucis; C. *Sive haereticus* (51.), ibid.

[4] Dialogus quaestion. 65. q. 59. (among his works); C. *Quamvis unum* (29.), ibid. See II. Tim. 3, 5.

church do not receive baptism unto salvation, but unto destruction, *having the form* of the sacrament, *but denying its virtue;* and therefore the Church does not rebaptize them, because they were baptized in the name of the Trinity, and that is the form of the sacrament." Also[1]: "To rebaptize a heretic who has received these signs of sanctification is certainly a sin; to rebaptize a Catholic, the most monstrous wrong."—From these authorities we can clearly gather, that even those who have been baptized by heretics, when the form given by Christ has been preserved, are not to be rebaptized, but only reconciled by the laying on of hands, that they may receive the holy Spirit, and in token of detestation of the heretics.

There are however some of the doctors,[2] as Cyprian and certain others, who seem to say that baptism cannot be administered by heretics, and that those who are said to have been baptized by them are to be rebaptized when they come into the Church.—But this is true of those heretics who presume to baptize without the form of the Church. Cyprian,[3] however, herein seems to have deviated from the truth, when he says concerning a heretic: "In what way can he sanctify water when he is unclean, and when the holy Spirit is not with him; since the Lord says in the Law[4]: 'Whatever things an unclean person touches, shall be unclean'? Who can give what he himself has not?" Augustine intimates that he said this from ignorance[5]: "As to the glorious martyr Cyprian, who did not wish to recognize the baptism conferred among heretics or schismatics, since he detested them exceedingly, he attained to the triumph of martyrdom by such great merits, that this shadow was dispelled by the light of the charity in which he excelled, and if anything needed to be purged away, it was removed by the scythe of suffering. Nor are we better therefore than Cyprian, because we recognize the truth of baptism and the iniquity of heretics, just as we are not better than Peter, because we do not compel the Gentiles to judaize."

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[1] August., Epist. 23 (alias 203.) ad Maximin. n. 2; *C. Rebaptizare haereticum* (108.) ibid.

[2] Cf. August., VI. and VII. contra Donatistas, and other doctors.

[3] Epist. ad Iubaianum eiusque episc., Acta etc.

[4] Num. 19, 22.

[5] De Unico Baptismo contra Petilian. c. 13. n. 22.

PART II

III. *That no one may be baptized in his mother's womb.*

We must also understand, "that although immersion is performed three times on account of the mystery of the Trinity, yet it is counted only one baptism." [1]—We are also not to be ignorant that no one can be baptized in his mother's womb, even if the mother be baptized. Wherefore Isidore[2]: "Those who are in their mothers' wombs cannot be baptized, because he who is not yet born according to Adam, cannot be born again according to Christ, nor can we speak of the re-birth of one, whose birth has not preceded it." Also, Augustine[3]: "No one can be born again before he is born."

But if Jeremiah[4] and John the Baptist be cited against this opinion, because they were said to be sanctified from the womb, as also some think was true of Jacob; we say that if they there received sanctification as inward cleansing, it must be held among the miracles of divine power, as Augustine says,[5] speaking ambiguously about this: "If," he says, "the use of reason and will was so far advanced in that boy that within the mother's womb he could already know and believe a thing that only age makes possible in other children, it must be held among the miracles of divine power, not taken as typical of human nature. For when God willed it, even an ass spoke."[6] Also[7]: "Concerning Jeremiah it is said: 'Before thou camest out of the womb, I sanctified thee'; but that sanctification by which we are made the temple of God, is only for the reborn." "'For unless a man be born again of water and of the holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' No one is born again, unless he is already born."[8] "Wherefore this sanctification can be received according to predestination." [9]—Here he seems to speak

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[1] Jerome, II. Comment. in Epist. ad Eph. (4, 5.); C. *Eodem modo* (81.), ibid.

[2] Lib. I. Sent. c. 22. n. 5; C. *Qui in maternis* (115.), ibid.

[3] Epist. 187. (alias 57.) ad Dardan. c. 9. n. 31.

[4] Jer. 1, 5; (concerning John the Baptist)—Luke 1, 15.

[5] Epist. cit. c. 7. n. 24.

[6] Numbers 22, 28.

[7] Augustine, Epist. cit. c. 10. n. 32; see Jer. 1, 5.

[8] Epist. cit. c. 10. n. 33; see John 3, 5.

[9] Epist. cit. c. 12. n. 37.

doubtfully, when he also says[1]: "It is not said that the infant *believed* in the womb, but that he *leaped;* nor did Elisabeth say: he leaped in faith, but, he leaped in my womb. And this sanctification could be the sign of greatness recognized by the older person, but not comprehended by the child.—He speaks without assertion of this sanctification, not defining just how the sanctification is to be understood, whether it be the sign of something to come, or the truth of the justification accomplished by the Spirit. But it is better that we say that these two (Jeremiah and John) were justified in the womb contrary to the common law, and aided by grace all sins were forgiven them; this is also taught by many testimonies of the saints.

IV. *Whether it be baptism, when the words are incorrectly pronounced.*

Moreover we are often asked if there be baptism, when the words are incorrectly pronounced.—On this point Zacharias[2] writes to Boniface: "Your messengers have reported to me that there has been a priest in the same province, who was completely ignorant of the Latin language, and when he baptized, not knowing how to speak Latin, he would say brokenly: 'Baptizo te in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritu sancta'; and on this account you have considered rebaptizing. But if he who baptized, did not introduce error or heresy, but by mere ignorance of Roman speech, has spoken the language brokenly in baptizing; we cannot agree that those whom he baptized should be baptized again."

Besides, we ought to know that "for those persons, about whose baptism there is no knowledge among the members of their family or among their neighbors, as to who baptized them, something must be done that they may be re-born lest they perish; in which case reason allows that what cannot be proved to have been done, may seem to be repeated. It seems that what is not known to have been previously conferred, must be conferred on them, because there is no heedlessness of presumption where there is the diligence of piety."[3]

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[1] Epist. cit. c. 7. n. 23.

[2] Apud. Isidor., C. *Retulerunt* (86.), ibid.

[3] S. Leo, Epist. 167. (alias 2.) ad Rustic. Narbonens., inquisitio 16. 17; C. *Si nulla* (113.), ibid.

V. *Concerning him who is immersed for sport.*

We are often asked also about him who, like an actor, is immersed in jest but in commemoration of the Trinity, whether he be baptized.—This also Augustine[1] does not make plain, when he says: "If the whole thing was done in jest and mimicry and jocularity, I think the divine judgment through the miracle of some revelation should be implored in prayer, as to whether the baptism, which was thus given, ought to be approved." It seems however to wise men that it was not baptism; as when persons are immersed in a bath or in a river in the name of the Trinity, the act is still not a baptism, because it was not done with the intention of baptizing. For in this and in other sacraments just as the form must be observed, so also there must be the intention of celebrating it. "Moreover do not let this disturb you, that some do not bring their children to baptism in the faith, that they may be regenerated by the Spirit to eternal life; but think that through this remedy they receive temporal health; for not on that account do the children fail to be regenerated, because they were not offered by their parents with this intention." [2]

We must also recognize that in baptizing the elect two seasons[3] are to be adhered to, namely, Easter and Pentecost, so that the sacrament of baptism may be celebrated on Easter Saturday or that of Pentecost. But any who are in the emergency of death or danger ought to be baptized at any season.

VI. *Of the replies of the godparents.*

Furthermore all who come to baptism ought to profess their faith and set forth for what purpose they come to the Church. Wherefore indeed the one to be baptized is asked: What do you come to the Church to seek? And he, if he is come to maturity, responds for himself: faith, that is, the sacrament of faith and teaching. So then being asked one thing at a time, he answers that he believes in the Father, and in the Son, and in the holy Spirit. But if he is an infant, not able to believe or to speak, another answers

[1] Lib. VII. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, c. 53. n. 102; C. *Solet etiam quaeri* (31.), ibid. For what follows, cf. Hugh, II. de Sacram. p. VI. c. 13.

[2] August., Epist. 98. (alias 23.) ad Bonifac. n. 5; C. *Non illud te moveat* (33.), ibid.

[3] Cf. Leo, Epist. 16. ad universos Episc. per Siciliam constitutos c. 5; and C. *Duo tempora* (12.), ibid.

for him. Wherefore Isidore[1]: "Infants who cannot yet speak or believe are baptized on the confession of another, just as also another confesses for the sick, the dumb, the deaf, while they are being baptized." So also we must do for penitents. "But if another responds for one who can respond, it is not efficacious in the same way, as has been said: 'He is of age, let him speak for himself.' " [2]

But if we are asked in what sense it is said for the child: I believe, or I seek faith; we say that the sacrament of faith, is to be understood, that he is said to seek when he is brought to the church, and he is said to have faith when he is baptized; so that the sense may be this: I seek faith, that is, I am ready to receive the sacrament of faith; I believe, that is, I receive the sacrament of faith; or: This infant is ready to receive the sacrament of faith. Wherefore Augustine[3]: "To believe is nothing else than to have faith; and therefore, when we answer that the infant believes, who has not yet the effect of faith, we answer that he has through the sacrament of faith, and turns to God through the sacrament of conversion."

But we are still asked in what sense we answer for the child: I believe in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, and in the holy Spirit. Is it there a question of the sacrament of faith or of the faith of the mind? If of the sacrament why are the persons of the Trinity distinguished by name? But if of the emotion of faith, how is it true, when the child is without it? Or do we promise that the infant will believe this when he is grown, just as we also vow that he will renounce the pomps of the devil, and if he has not observed the vow when he comes to maturity, will he or the sponsor be held to account?—Rightly indeed we can say, that we there promise for the infant, that, if he comes to maturer years, he will both renounce the pomps of the devil and hold a sound faith, the sacrament of which he then receives. The infant will be held moreover by the vow made for him, not the sponsor; provided that as much as in him lies the sponsor has taken care that the obligation be fulfilled, because it is required of the godfather that he have diligent solicitude for him for whom he promised. Concerning this Augus-

[1] Lib. II. de Ecclesiast. officiis, c. 25. n. 7; C. *Parvuli* (74.), ibid.

[2] August., IV. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, c. 24. n. 31; see John 9, 21; C. *Cum pro parvulis* (77.), ibid.

[3] Epist. 98. (alias 23.) ad Bonifac. episc. n. 9; C. *Nihil est aliud* (76.), ibid.

tine says[1]: "You have undertaken the most certain obligation, when you solemnly promised to renounce the pomps of the devil."

VII. *Of catechism and exorcism.*

Moreover these questions and answers concerning faith occur in the catechism[2]; to which exorcism is added. For before baptism catechism and exorcism are performed, exorcism following after catechism, so that the power of the adversary may be expelled from him who is now instructed in the faith. Exorcism, a Greek word, is translated into Latin, *adjuration;* catechism is translated *instruction;* to catechize is to instruct, as regards the Creed, and the rudiments of the faith. To exorcize is to adjure as: "Depart from him, thou unclean spirit"; the Creed is the sign or collection: a sign, because by it the faithful are distinguished from infidels; a collection, because therein the completeness and entirety of the faith are collected.—Catechism and exorcism are for neophytes, and ought to be called sacramentals rather than sacraments. Neophyte is translated novice or untried; and one newly converted to the faith or untried in the discipline of 'religious conversation' is called a neophyte.—Catechism and exorcism therefore precede baptism, not because without them there cannot be true baptism, but in order that the one to be baptized may be instructed concerning the faith, and may know to whom he is thenceforth become a debtor, and that the power of the devil may be diminished in him. Wherefore Rabanus[3]: "For an adult the office of catechizing ought to come before baptism; so that a catechumen may receive the rudiments of faith, and may know to whom he is thenceforth become a debtor." Also Augustine[4]: "Infants are blown upon and exorcised, so that the power of the devil may be banished from them," "lest[5] now he try to destroy them, that they attain not to baptism." "Therefore[6] it is not a creature of God that is blown out and exorcized from infants, but the devil, that he may depart from man."

[1] According to the sense, from 1. Serm. ad Neophytos (among the works of Augustine); according to the words, C. *Prima igitur* (73.), ibid.

[2] The passage following is from Hugh of St. Victor, II. de Sacram. p. VI. c. 8. 9. 10.

[3] Lib. I. de Institutione clericorum, c. 25. C. *Ante baptismum* (54.), ibid.

[4] De Symbolo ad catechum. serm. 1. c. 1. n. 2; C. *Sicut nostis* (62.), ibid.

[5] Raban., ibid. c. 27.

[6] August., de Symbobo, loc. cit.

Distinction VII

I. *Of the Sacrament of Confirmation.*

Now we must next discuss the sacrament of confirmation, for we are often questioned concerning its virtue. For the form is clear, that is, the words which the bishop says, when he signs the baptized on the forehead with the sacred chrism.

II. *That it can only be performed by the chief priests.*

This sacrament[1] cannot be performed by any except the chief priests, for we read that in the time of the apostles it was not performed by others than the apostles themselves, nor can, nor ought it be performed by others than those who hold the place of the apostles. For if it be undertaken by others, it is held to be null and void, nor will it be counted among the sacraments of the church. But it is lawful for presbyters to touch the baptized on the breast but not to sign them with the chrism on the forehead.

III. *What the virtue of this sacrament is.*

The virtue moreover of the sacrament is the gift of the holy Spirit for strength, who is given in baptism for remission. Wherefore Rabanus[2]: "By the chief priest through the laying on of hands the Paraclete is given to one baptized, that he may be strengthened through the holy Spirit, to proclaim to others that which he has attained in baptism." Also[3]: "All the faithful ought after baptism to receive the holy Spirit by the laying on of hands by the bishops so that they may be found to be complete Christians."

IV. *Whether this sacrament is more worthy than baptism.*

"Know that both are great sacraments, but one must be held in greater veneration, as it is administered by those who are greater." [4] —See he calls the sacrament of confirmation the greater; but perhaps

[1] Passage taken from Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 1; and C. *Manus quoque* (4.), de Consecrat. dist. 5.

[2] Lib. I. de Institutione clericorum, c. 30.

[3] Can. *Omnes fideles* (1.) de Consecrat. dist. 5.

[4] Can. *De his vero* (3.), de Consecrat. dist. 5.

not on account of the greater virtue and utility which it confers, but because it is administered by those who are worthier, and is performed on a worthier part of the body, that is on the forehead; or perhaps because it offers a greater increase of virtue, although baptism has more power for remission. Rabanus seems to mean this when he says that[1] "in the anointing of baptism the holy Spirit descends to consecrate his habitation to God. But in this sacrament his seven-fold grace, with all fullness of sanctity and virtue comes upon man."—This sacrament ought only to be received by persons fasting, and be administered by fasting, just as baptism, unless necessity compels otherwise.[2]

V. *Whether it can be repeated.*

Nor ought it be repeated, as baptism ought not, nor ordination. For injury must not be done to any sacrament; and it would be thought an injury, were we to repeat what must not be repeated.—But whether some can be repeated or none is a question. For that baptism and ordination ought not be repeated, Augustine clearly says[3]: "Each is a sacrament, and is administered with a certain consecration, the one when a person is baptized; but the other when he is ordained. Therefore in the Catholic Church it is not permitted to repeat either," because injury must not be done to either. And without doubt we must hold that this is true also of confirmation; but whether others can or ought to be repeated, we shall discuss later.

Note. Gregory[4] writes to Bishop Januarius thus: "It has come to our ears, that some have been offended, because we restrained presbyters from touching with the chrism those who had been baptized; and we certainly did this according to the old use of our church. But if some are much distressed by this; we concede that where bishops are absent, presbyters may touch the baptized with chrism even on the forehead." "But that concession seems to me to have been made at one particular time for checking a scandal."

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[1] Loc. cit., and C. *Novissime* (5.), ibid.

[2] Cf. C. *Ut ieiuni* (6.) and *Ut episcopi* (7.), ibid.; and Hugh, II. de Sacram. p. VII. c. 5.

[3] Lib. II. contra Epist. Parmeniani, c. 13. n. 28, and C. *Quod quidam* (97.), c. 1. q. 1. §1.

[4] Lib. IV. Regist. indict. 12. epist. 26, and C. *Pervenit* (1.), dist. 95. The following passage gives the words of Gratian on C. *Presbyteros* (2.), ibid.

Distinction VIII

PART I

I. *Of the sacrament of the altar.*

"After the sacrament of baptism and of confirmation, follows the sacrament of the Eucharist. Through baptism we are cleansed, through the Eucharist, we are perfected in what is good."[1] Baptism extinguishes the fire of sins, the Eucharist restores us spiritually. Wherefore it is well called the Eucharist, that is, good grace, because in this sacrament not only is there increase of virtue and grace, but he who is the fount and source of all grace is received entire.

II. *That in the Old Testament there was a type of this sacrament, just as of baptism.*

"There was a previous type of it, when God rained manna on the Fathers in the wilderness, and fed them with heavenly food; wherefore: 'Man has eaten the bread of angels.' But those who ate that bread then died. But this is the living bread, which 'came down from heaven,' and gave life to the world."[2] That manna was from heaven, this *above* heaven; that when reserved to another day was full of worms; this is free from all corruption; whoever has tasted it religiously shall not see corruption. That was given to the ancients after the crossing of the Red Sea, where the Hebrews were freed by the drowning of the Egyptians[3]; so this heavenly manna ought only be given to those re-born. That bread for the body led the ancient people through the desert to the land of promise; this heavenly food sustains the faithful going through the desert of this world to heaven. Wherefore it is rightly called the 'viaticum,' because it restores us on the way, and leads us unto the fatherland. Therefore just as in the Red Sea we find baptism typified, so in the

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[1] Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 2.

[2] Ambrose, de Mysteriis, c. 8. n. 47; n. 48 for the following passage; both in C. *Revera* (69.) de Consecrat. dist. 2. See Exod. 16, 15; Ps. 77, 25; John 6, 41.

[3] Exod. 16, 14; then 14, 25 ff.

manna is the Lord's body signified. These two sacraments were indicated when the blood and water flowed from the side of Christ[1]; because Christ came to redeem us from the devil and sin by the blood of redemption, and the water of cleansing, just as he freed the Israelites from the destroyer by the blood of the paschal lamb,[2] and from the Egyptians by the water of the sea.—Melchisedech also prefigured the rite of this sacrament, when he offered bread and wine to Abraham.[3] Wherefore, as Ambrose[4] says, it is clear, "that the sacraments of the Christians came before those of the Jews."

III. *Of the institution of this sacrament.*

Here four other things present themselves for consideration, that is, the *institution,* the *form,* the *sacrament,* and the *thing* (res). The Lord *instituted* the sacrament, when after the type of the lamb he offered his body and blood to the disciples at supper. Wherefore Eusebius Emisenus[5]: "Because he was about to withdraw from their eyes the body he had assumed, and bear it to the heavens, it was necessary that on the day of the Feast he should consecrate the sacrament of the body and blood for us, so that what was once offered as a ransom, might be perpetually worshipped through a mystery."

PART II

IV. *Of the form.*

But the form is that which he himself taught when he said: "This is my body"; and afterward: "This is my blood." For when these words are uttered, a change of the blood and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ takes place. All other words are said to the praise of God. Wherefore Ambrose[6]: "This sacrament is accomplished by the words of Christ, because the words of Christ change the creature; and thus the bread becomes the body

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[1] John 19, 34.

[2] Exod. 12, 13.

[3] Gen. 14, 18.

[4] Loc. cit. c. 8. n. 44; and IV. de Sacram. c. 3. n. 10.

[5] Homil. de Corp. et sang. Christi, n. 1. among the works of Jerome (Epist. 38.); also among the works of Isidore, Serm. 4. de corp. etc. n. 2. and C. *Quia corpus* (35.), de Consecrat. dist. 2.

[6] Lib. IV. de Sacram. c. 4. n. 14 ff.; following passage from the same place; cf. C. *Panis est* (55.), ibid.

of Christ, and the wine with water poured into the chalice becomes the blood by the consecration of the heavenly word. By what words is the consecration made? Hear what the words are: 'Take ye and eat ye all of this; this is my body,' and again: 'Take ye and drink ye all of this, this is my blood.' All the rest that is uttered renders praise to God, offers prayer for the people and for the kings." Also, Augustine[1]: "We must believe that in these words of Christ the sacraments are accomplished; all the rest are merely praises, or the earnest supplications and petitions of the faithful."—See now what is the institution and form of this sacrament.

V. *Why Christ gave this sacrament to his disciples after other food.*

Here it is worthy of consideration why he gave this sacrament to the disciples after supper. The Lord Jesus being about to depart to the invisible majesty of his Father's glory, and having celebrated the symbolical passover with the disciples, wished to commend to them some memorial, and gave them his body and blood under the figure of bread and wine, in order to show that the sacraments of the old law, among which the sacrifice of the paschal lamb was chief, were terminated at his death, and the sacraments of the new law substituted, and among these the mystery of the Eucharist is pre-eminent. Therefore he ordained the Eucharist after the other sacraments that this sacrament might be more deeply impressed on the memory of the disciples, and thenceforth be repeated frequently by the Church. But he did not on that account appoint it for discipline in the future, that it should be received after other food, but rather it ought to be received fasting, as the Apostle teaches,[2] so that it may be marked by exceptional reverence, that is, set apart from other food; and this the Lord left to the Apostles to arrange. Wherefore Augustine[3]: "It appears, that when the disciples first received the Eucharist, they did not receive it fasting. But we should not therefore scorn the universal Church, because its members always received the Eucharist fasting. For it pleased the holy Spirit, that

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[1] Found briefly in Paschasius Radbertus, de Corp. et sang. Domini, c. 15. n. 1, and C. *Utrum sub figura* (72.), ibid. §2. 3. For the following cf. Glossa ad I. Cor. 11, 23. 24. in Lyranus.

[2] I. Cor. 11, 22 and 34.

[3] Epist. 54 (alias 118.) ad Ianuar. c. 6. n. 7. 8, and C. *Liquido* (54.), ibid.

in honor of so great a sacrament, the body of the Lord should enter into the mouth of a Christian before other food; therefore this custom is observed everywhere. For not because the Lord gave the Eucharist after other food, ought we to receive it after breakfast or dinner, as did those whom the Apostle reproved. For the Saviour that he might the more strongly commend the loftiness of this mystery, wished to impress it last on the hearts and memory of his disciples, from whom he was about to go to his passion. But in what order it was thereafter to be received he left to be taught by the apostles, through whom he would organize his churches."

VI. *Of the sacrament and the thing (res).*

Now let us see what is the sacrament and what the thing (res). "The sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace"[1]; the form therefore of the bread and wine which appears here is the sacrament, that is, "the sign of a sacred thing, because it calls something to mind beyond the appearance which it presents to the senses." Therefore the appearances "keep the names of the things which they were before, namely, bread and wine."

VII. *That the thing (res) of this sacrament is two-fold.*

"Moreover the thing (res) of this sacrament is two-fold: one, what is contained and signified, the other what is signified but not contained. The thing contained and signified is the flesh of Christ which he received from the Virgin, and the blood which he shed for us. The thing signified and not contained is the unity of the Church in those who are predestined, called, justified and glorified."[2] This is the two-fold flesh and blood of Christ. Wherefore Jerome: "In two ways," he says, "are the flesh of Christ and his blood understood: either the flesh which was crucified and buried, and the blood which was shed by the lance of the soldier; or that spiritual and divine body of which he himself says[3]: 'My flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed'; and: 'Unless ye eat my flesh and drink

[1] August., X. de Civ. Dei c. 5, and Epist. 105 (alias 166.) ad Donatistas, c. 3. n. 12; cf. C. *Sacrificium* (32. §1.), ibid.—Following passage is II. de Doctr. christiana, c. 1. n. 1, and C. *Signum* (33.), ibid. Third is in C. *Specie* (34.), ibid.

[2] Glossa ad I. Cor. 11, 23, in Lyranus, where are also the words of Jerome, Comment. in Eph. 1, 7; (cf. C. *Dupliciter* (49.), ibid.) and the third passage.

[3] John 6, 56.

my blood, ye have not life in you.'" [1] Therefore three things are to be distinguished here: the first which is the sacrament only; the second which is the sacrament and the thing (res); and the third which is the thing and not the sacrament. The sacrament and not the thing is the visible form of bread and wine; the sacrament and the thing is the very flesh and blood of Christ; the thing and not the sacrament, is his mystical flesh.—Furthermore that visible form is the sacrament of something two-fold; because it signifies two things and bears the express likeness of two things. For just as bread more than other foods restores and sustains the body and wine gladdens and inebriates man, so the flesh of Christ spiritually restores and sustains the inward man more than other graces; wherefore: 'My chalice which inebriateth me, how goodly is it!' [2] The visible form bears also a resemblance to a mystical thing, which is the unity of the faithful,[3] because just as one loaf is made from many grains, and wine from many grapes flows together, so ecclesiastical unity is composed of the many persons of the faithful." Wherefore the Apostle[4]: "We being many are one bread and one body." Wherefore Augustine[5]: "The Church is called one bread and one body, because just as one loaf is composed of many grains, and one body of many members, so the Church of many faithful is bound together by uniting charity." "This mystery of our peace and unity Christ consecrated at his table. He who receives this mystery of unity and does not keep the bond of peace, receives this mystery not for himself, but against himself." "And of this unity also Christ's own body received from the Virgin is the sacrament; because as the body of Christ was composed of many very pure and immaculate members, so the society of the Church is composed of many persons freed from the stain of sin. As a type of this unity, the ark[6] of the Lord was made of setim-wood, which does not decay, but is like white thorn."

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[1] John 6, 54.

[2] Psalm 22, 5.

[3] Cf. August., in Ioan. Evang. tr. 26. n. 15 and 17.

[4] I. Cor. 10, 17. Cf. ibid. Lyranus.

[5] Tract. cit. in Ioan.; also in Lyranus, loc. cit. Following passage is C. *Quia passus* (36.), ibid. §1.—Third is in Lyranus, I. Cor. 11, 24.

[6] Exod. 25, 10.

I. *Of the two ways of eating.*

And just as there are two things in this sacrament, so also "there are two ways of eating: one sacramental, in which the good and evil eat; the other spiritual, in which only the good eat."[1] Wherefore Augustine: "What is it to eat Christ? It is not only to receive his body in the sacrament—for many receive it unworthily—but to abide in him and to have him abiding in oneself." "For he eats spiritually, who abides in the unity of Christ and of the Church, which the sacrament signifies." For he who is at variance with Christ, neither eats the flesh of Christ, nor drinks his blood, but receives the sacrament of it daily to his own judgment." Augustine[2] distinguishing spiritual eating from the sacramental, says: "Why do you prepare your stomach and teeth? Believe and you have eaten. For to believe on him is to eat the bread and wine; whoever believes on him eats of him." The same: "How is Christ eaten? In the way that he says[3]: 'Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him.' If he abides in me, and I in him, then he drinks; but whoever does not abide in me, nor I in him, even if he receives the sacrament, lays up for himself great torment." The same[4]: "No one need doubt that he is made a partaker of the body and blood of the Lord at the time when he is made a member of Christ; nor is he separated from the fellowship of this bread and cup, even though before he eats this bread and drinks this cup, he passes from this world established in the unity of the body of Christ, because he is not deprived of the benefit of this sacrament, since

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[1] Glossa on I. Cor. 11, 29, in Lyranus; where are also the two passages of Augustine, first, Serm. 71 (alias 11. de Verbis Dom.) c. 11. n. 17; C. *Quid est Christum* (46.), de Consecrat. dist. 2; and the other Lib. Sentent. Prosperi (among the works of Augustine) n. 341; C. *Qui discordat* (65.), ibid.

[2] In Ioan. Evang. tr. 25. n. 12; C. *Ut quid paras* (47.), ibid.; following passage ibid. tr. 26. n. 1, and in the same Canon (Augustine: *panem vivum* for *panem et vinum*).

[3] John 6, 57.

[4] Ibid. n. 18; C. 46. supra cit. Also in Bede, in I. Cor. 11, 27.

he evidently possesses that which this sacrament signifies." For in this sacrament Christ has commended his body and blood to us, which he has also made us to be. For we are made his very body. Again[1]: "Whoever is at variance with Christ does not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood, even if he receive the sacrament of that great marvel to his own judgment."

II. *Of the error of those who say that the body of Christ is received only by the good.*

Some persons, with dull understandings, reading these words and others like them, where spiritual eating is discussed, have been so involved in the darkness of error that they presume to say that the body and blood of Christ are received by the good only and not by the bad.—But without doubt we must believe that they are received by the good, not only sacramentally, but also spiritually; but by the wicked only sacramentally, namely as a sacrament; that is, under the visible form are received the flesh of Christ derived from the Virgin and the blood shed for us, but not the mystical flesh and blood, which are only for the good. This is proved by the following testimonies. Gregory[2]: "There is indeed the true flesh of Christ and the true blood in sinners and those who receive unworthily, but in essence, not in saving efficacy." Also Augustine[3]: "Many unworthily receive the body of the Lord; concerning whom the Apostle says[4]: 'Whoever eateth and drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.' By which we are taught to guard against receiving the good wickedly. For see, evil is done when the good is received wickedly; just as, on the contrary, good was done by the Apostle, when he received evil well, as when he bore the goad of Satan patiently. Therefore even evils benefit the good, just as the angel of Satan did Paul, and sacred things harm the evil: they are unto salvation for the good, and unto judgment for the evil. Wherefore he who eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himself, not because the thing itself is evil, but because

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[1] August., *in Sent. Prosperi*, see note above, p. 1.

[2] Passage not in Gregory, but in Lanfranc, de Corpore et sang. Dom. c. 20.

[3] From tr. 6. in Ioan. Evang. n. 15 and tr. 62. n. 1; C. *Et sancta* (66.), ibid.

[4] I. Cor. 11, 29.

the wicked man wickedly receives that which is good." The same[1]: "Whoever unworthily receives the body of Christ does not bring it to pass that because he is evil, what he receives is evil, or because he does not receive it unto salvation, he receives nothing. For the body and blood of the Lord were none the less in those to whom the Apostle says[2]: 'Whoever eateth unworthily,' etc."—By these and many other authorities it is clearly shown that even by the wicked the true body and blood of Christ are received; but sacramentally, not spiritually.

III. *On the meaning of certain ambiguous words.*

Regarding these two ways of receiving, the meaning of certain ambiguous words must be explained. For Augustine[3] says: "A good man receives the sacrament and the thing of the sacrament (rem sacramenti); but a wicked man the sacrament and not the thing (rem)." By sacrament he means the actual body of Christ, born of the Virgin; but by the thing he means the spiritual flesh of Christ. The good man therefore receives the flesh of Christ in both senses, but the wicked only the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ under the sacrament, and not the spiritual thing.—In like manner[4]: "He that eats not, eats, and he that eats, eats not, because he that does not eat sacramentally, sometimes eats spiritually," and conversely. And those who eat spiritually are said to receive the truth of the flesh and blood, "because they have its actual effect, that is, remission of sins," [5] for which we apparently pray when we say: "We pray, O Lord, that thy sacraments may accomplish in us that which they contain; so that what we now have in appearance, we may receive in their inmost truth." By "their inmost truth" he means their effect, as if he said: "Grant through these sacraments, as we receive sacra-

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[1] Lib. V. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, c. 8. n. 9; C. *Sicut Iudas* (68.), ibid.

[2] I. Cor. 11, 29.

[3] Gathered from the passages cited. Literally in *Glossa* ad I. Cor. 11, 24 in Lyranus.

[4] In Glossa cit.

[5] Lanfranc, as above, and C. *Species et similitudo* (34.), ibid. The following prayer is in Gregory, Lib. Sacrament. n. 487; cf. Guitmund, II. de Corporis et sang. Dom. veritate.

mentally the flesh of Christ, so may we receive it spiritually." Or the priest prays that Christ who now is truly received under the form of bread and wine, may some time be received in clear vision, just as he is in the essence of his divinity.—It is therefore certain that the body of Christ is received by the good and by the wicked; but by the good unto salvation, by the wicked unto destruction.

Distinction X

PART I

1. *Of the heresy of others who say that the body of Christ is not on the altar save in sign.*

There are also others who exceed the madness of the above described, who, measuring the virtue of God by the measure of natural things, deny the truth more audaciously and dangerously, asserting that on the altar there is neither the body of Christ nor the blood, nor is the substance of bread or of wine converted into the substance of flesh and blood but that Christ said[1]: "This is my body," just as the Apostle said[2]: "And the rock was Christ." For they say that the body of Christ is there only in the sacrament, that is, in symbol, and merely in symbol is it eaten by us. These find the occasion of their error in the words of the Truth, from which[3] the first heresy arose among the disciples of Christ. For when he said: "Except a man eat my flesh, and drink my blood, he shall not have eternal life"; they not understanding said: "This saying is hard, who can understand it? and they went back." When they had departed, he taught the twelve who remained: "It is the Spirit," he said, "who giveth life; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words which I have spoken to you, are spirit and life." Have you understood them spiritually? They are spirit and life. Have you understood them carnally? Even so they are spirit and life, but they are not so for you. Understand spiritually that which I have said. It is not this body which you see that you shall eat, nor drink this blood which they who crucify me shall shed. I have commended a certain sacrament to you, which if it be spiritually understood, will give you life; but the flesh profiteth nothing."—There are also other passages which add

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[1] Matt. 26, 26.

[2] I. Cor. 10, 4.

[3] What follows is taken from C. *Prima quidem* (44.), de Consecrat. dist. 2; gathered from Augustine, Enarrat. in Ps. 54. n. 23, and in Ps. 98. n. 9; also verbotenus in Alger, I. de Sacram. corp. et sang. Dom. c. 11. See John 6, 54. 61. 67. 64.

fuel to the madness of these people. For Augustine says[1]: "Until this age shall be ended, the Lord is on high; but nevertheless there is here also with us the Truth, the Lord. For the body in which he rose again must be in one place; but his truth is diffused everywhere." Also[2]: One person is God and man, inasmuch as Christ is God, he is everywhere, inasmuch as he is man he is in heaven." Christ also says: "The poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always." The aforesaid heretics use these and other sayings to maintain their error.—All these passages are to be interpreted in the same manner. For these words do not deny that the true body of Christ is received by the faithful or that it is on the altar, but by these words the Truth instructed the Apostles and through them us, that he was giving us his body, not divided into parts, as those disciples thought, who went back, but entire; and not visibly, in human form, but invisibly under the form of bread and wine, did he give us his body and blood. Augustine[3] confirms this meaning when he says: "It is his body itself, and not his body which was seen, that is eaten; his body indeed, invisibly; not his body visibly." Also[4]: "And if it is necessary that it should be celebrated visibly, it is necessary that it be understood invisibly." So also the body of Christ must be understood to be in one place, that is, visibly in human form; but his Truth, that is, his Divinity, is everywhere; his truth also, that is, his true body is on every altar, wherever it is celebrated. So also is this to be understood: "The poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always," that is, with reference to his corporal presence, in which he was conversing with them. Similarly, inasmuch as he is *man,* he is in heaven, that is, visibly; but he is on the altar invisibly, because he does not appear in human form, but is hidden under the form of bread and wine. Wherefore also his flesh, which is truly on the altar, is said to be invisible; but because it does not appear in its own form, it is said to be invisible. For Augustine says[5]: "This is what we say, what we strive in every way to prove:

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[1] In Ioan. Evang. tr. 30. n. 1; cf. also tr. 50. n. 12. f. and canon cited §1.

[2] August., Epist. 187. (alias 57.) ad Dardan. c. 3. n. 10. See Matt. 26, 11; Mark 14, 7.

[3] So C. *Non hoc corpus* (45.), ibid.; and Alger, loc. cit. c. 9.

[4] August. Enarrat. in Ps. 98. n. 9, and Can. cit.

[5] Not found in Augustine, but in Lanfranc, de Corp. et sang. Dom. c. 10. In C. *Hoc est quod dicimus* (48.), ibid.

that the sacrifice of the Church is consummated by two things and consists of two things; the visible form of the elements, and the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; the sacrament and in that which the sacrament symbolizes, that is, the body of Christ; just as the person of Christ consists and is composed of God and man, since Christ is very God and man, because everything contains in itself the nature and truth of those things, of which it consists. Now the sacrifice of the Church consists of two parts: the sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ. There is therefore the sacrament and the thing of the sacrament (res sacramenti), that is the body of Christ."—See, he said the *invisible* flesh of Christ, because, it is received and given, hidden under the form of bread. Likewise, he said that the body of Christ is the sacrament and the thing; and this confirms what we said above.[1] Then he adds what moves the reader more: "That is his flesh," he says, "which hidden under the form of bread, we receive in the sacrament; and his blood, which we drink under the form and taste of wine. That is, flesh is the sacrament of flesh and blood of blood; and in the flesh and blood, both of which are invisible, intelligible and spiritual, is signified the visible and palpable body of Christ, full of grace and divine majesty."

Pay careful attention to these things, because Augustine here uses a certain figure of speech in which things which signify other things often receive the names of the things which they signify. For here the visible form of bread is called by the name of flesh and the visible form of wine by the name of blood. But the flesh of Christ is said to be invisible and intelligible, because in that form the flesh is not seen, but is known; so also the blood. The invisible flesh therefore is said to be the sacrament of the visible flesh because the form of bread, under which that flesh is not visible, is the sacrament of the visible flesh, for by the invisible flesh, that is, by the form, in which the flesh of Christ does not appear as flesh, is signified the body of Christ, which is visible and palpable, when it appears in its own form. So also should we understand in the case of the blood. Augustine[2] also confirms this sense, showing how the preceding

[1] Dist. VIII. c. 7.—Passage following is in can. cit. and in Lanfranc, loc. cit. c. 14.

[2] Can. cit. but §2. The last passage of this chapter is Augustine, Epist. 98. (alias 23.) ad Bonifac. Episc. n. 9.

statements are to be understood,—because he had spoken obscurely —saying accordingly that the bread is called the body of Christ when really it is the sacrament of the body of Christ which was crucified; just as that sacrifice which is performed by the hands of the priest is called the passion of Christ, not in the actuality of the fact, but in the mystery of the symbol; and as "Faith is called the sacrament of faith."

PART II

This is a sufficient reply to heretics and the objections of those who deny that the true body of Christ is on the altar, and that the bread is changed into the body or the wine into blood by the mystical consecration, saying: "Who would dare to eat his Lord? Who also would dare to say that the body of Christ is daily formed of matter or substance, which were not the flesh of the Virgin?"

II. *Of the testimonies of the Saints by which he proves that the true body of Christ is on the altar.*

These and similar objections are made by those who seek eagerly the natural law in the divine mystery; whose perfidy the following testimonies reveal. For the Truth says[1]: "Take ye, this is my body." Also, Ambrose[2]: "If the prayer of Elijah had such power that it could bring down fire from heaven[3]; will not the prayer of Christ be of sufficient power to change substances? Of the creation of the whole world we read: 'That he spoke, and they were made,'[4] etc. Therefore the Word that is, the Son, who could create out of nothing that which was not, can not he change those things which are, into those which they were not? For it is not less to create than to change things into a new character." Also: "If we are looking for the regular order, a woman is wont to bring forth offspring from union with a man. Therefore it is evident that the Virgin brought forth outside the order of nature; and this body which we produce is from the Virgin. Why therefore do you seek the order of nature in the

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[1] Matt. 26, 26.

[2] De Mysteriis, c. 9. n. 52; following passage, n. 53; third n. 54; these three passages are in C. *Revera mirabile* (69.), ibid. §2.

[3] III Kings 1, 14.

[4] Ps. 148, 5.

body of Christ since he himself was born of the Virgin, outside the order of nature?"—Also: "Before the benediction, another form is mentioned, after consecration the body is signified. Before consecration another thing is mentioned, after consecration, blood is named. You say *'Amen,'* that is, 'it is true.' What the words say, let the emotions feel." Also, Augustine[1]: "In the forms of bread and wine which we see, we honor invisible things, that is, flesh and blood; nor do we regard these two forms, as we regarded them before consecration, when we confess faithfully that before consecration they were bread and wine which nature formed; but after consecration, the flesh and blood of Christ which the benediction consecrated." Also, Ambrose[2]: "Bread is used on the altar, before the sacred words, when the consecration takes place, the bread becomes the flesh of Christ. But how can that which is bread, be the body of Christ? By the consecration, which is performed in the words of Christ." The same: "If there is such power in the words of the Lord, that things should begin to be, which before were not; how much more can they bring it about that things which were should continue to be, and be changed into something else? And so that which was bread before the consecration, now after the consecration is the body of Christ, because the words of Christ change the creature; and so bread becomes the body of Christ, and wine mixed with water in the chalice becomes the blood by the consecration of the heavenly words." Likewise, Augustine[3]: "Just as the true flesh of Christ was created by the holy Spirit without sexual intercourse, so by the same Spirit the same body and blood of Christ are consecrated from the substance of bread and wine. The body of Christ is both the truth and the figure: the truth, inasmuch as the body and blood of Christ are made from the substances of bread and wine by the virtue of the holy Spirit; while the figure is that which is outwardly perceived." Likewise, Eusebius Emissenus[4]: "The invis-

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[1] Can. *Nos autem* (41.), ibid.; cf. Lanfranc, loc. cit. c. 13.

[2] Lib. IV. de Sacram. c. 4. n. 14; following passage ibid. n. 15; these two passages are in C. *Panis est* (55.), ibid.

[3] Can. *Utrum sub figura* (72.), ibid.; cf. Paschasius Radb., de Corp. et sang. Christi, c. 4. n. 1.

[4] Can. *Quia corpus* (35.), ibid. Verbotenus in Serm. 4. de Corp. et sang. Dom. n. 3. (among the works of Isidore and Jerome).

ible priest by his word and secret power changes the visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood."—From these and from many other statements, it is plain that the true body and blood of Christ are on the altar; nay rather the entire Christ is there under both forms, and the substance of the bread is changed into his body, and the substance of the wine into his blood.

Distinction XI

PART I

I. *Of the manner of conversion.*

But if anyone asks what the nature of that conversion is, whether of form, or of substance, or of some other sort; I am not able to define. I know however that it is not of form, because the appearances of the things remain what they were before, and the taste and the weight. To some it seems to be a change of substance, for they say that substance is so converted into substance, that the latter becomes the former in essence. With this opinion the foregoing[1] authorities seem to agree.

But others make the following objection to this opinion: if the substance of bread, they say, or of wine is converted in substance into the body or blood of Christ, a substance is daily made the body or blood of Christ, which previously was not; and to-day there is a body of Christ, which yesterday was not; and daily the body of Christ is increased and formed of material, of which at its conception it was not made.—To these we can reply as follows: that the body of Christ is not said to be made by the divine words in the sense that the very body formed when the Virgin conceived is formed again, but that the substance of bread or wine which formerly was not the body or blood of Christ, is, by the divine words, made his body and blood. And therefore priests are said to make the body and blood of Christ, because by their ministry the substance of bread is made the flesh, and the substance of wine is made the blood of Christ; yet nothing is added to his body or blood, nor is the body or blood of Christ increased.

II. *How the body of Christ is said to be made from the substance of bread.*

"But if you ask in what manner this can take place, I will reply briefly: It is salutary to believe the mystery of faith, it is not salutary

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[1] Dist. X., last chapter.

to investigate it."[1] The fact, therefore, that the body of Christ is not increased by the change of the bread into it, nor the blood from the change of the wine, should be ascribed to his will and power, who brought forth the same body from the Virgin; therefore the one substance is made without increasing the other. Some however do not admit that the substance of bread ever becomes the flesh of Christ, although the flesh of Christ is produced; as flour becomes bread and water wine, yet we do not say: flour is bread and water is wine.—But others admit that that which was bread or wine, after the consecration is body and blood; yet it does not follow that the bread is the flesh of Christ or the wine his blood, because the substance of bread or wine, after it becomes the flesh or blood of Christ is not the substance of bread or wine, but the flesh and blood. It therefore seems necessary to distinguish when we say: the substance of bread, or that which was bread, now is the body of Christ—for remaining bread it is not the body of Christ—but being changed into that which it has become, it is the body of Christ. Nor do we say that the substance of bread or of wine is the matter of the body or blood, because the body is not formed of it as of matter, but the former is converted into the latter, and is made the latter. Wherefore Augustine[2]: "We call that the body of Christ, which being received from the fruits of the earth and consecrated in the mystical prayer, we receive in memory of the Lord's passion. But, since through the hands of man it is brought to that visible appearance, it is not sanctified so as to be a worthy sacrament save by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God."

But some say that we must understand the conversion as follows, that under those accidents, under which there was formerly the substance of bread and wine, there is after consecration the substance of the body and blood; but so, that it is not affected by the accidents. And thus they assert the said bread changes into the body of Christ, because where there was bread, there is now the body of Christ. If this is so, what then becomes of the substance of the bread and wine? They say that it is dissolved into the earlier matter, or reduced to nothing.—But others have thought that the substance of

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[1] Cf. Alger, Ide Sacram, c. 9; what follows is from Sum. Sent, tr. 6, c 4.

[2] Lib. III. de Trin. c. 4. n. 10; and C. *Corpus et sanguinem* (60.), de Consecrat. dist. 2.

bread and wine remained there, and that the body and blood of Christ were also there, and that in the sense that the one substance is said to become the other, that where the one is, the other is also; which is strange; and they say that the very substance of bread or wine itself is the sacrament.—But that there is no substance there, save the body and blood of Christ is clearly shown by what has been said above and by the following. For Ambrose says[1]: "This bread which we receive in the mystery, I understand to be that which by the hand of the holy Spirit was formed in the womb of the Virgin and which by the fire of the passion was baked upon the altar of the cross. For the bread of angels is become the food of men; wherefore he says[2]: 'I am the living bread, which came down from heaven'; and again[3]: 'The bread which I will give you is my flesh, for the life of the world.' For from these two sentences it is clearly given us to know, that that bread and this are not two, but the one bread and the one flesh without doubt become one body, that same truly, and certainly, which was received from the Virgin, which rose again and ascended into heaven." Likewise Gregory[4]: "Who of the faithful can doubt, that in the very hour of sacrifice the heavens are opened to the voice of the priest, that in that mystery of Christ the choirs of angels are present, that the highest and the lowest are joined together, that the visible and the invisible are made one?" The same[5]: "In the same moment it is both carried off into heaven by the ministry of angels to be united to the body of Christ and appears on the altar before the eyes of the priest. Just as the Divinity of the Word fills all the world, so that body is consecrated in many places; yet there are not many bodies of Christ, but one body and one blood. Therefore whether a man receives more or less of it, all equally receive the body of Christ entire."—After the consecration therefore the substance of the bread and wine is not there, although the appearance remains. For the appearance of bread and

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[1] Gathered from Lib. de Mysteriis c. 9, and IV. de Sacram. c. 4; in C. *Omnia quaecumque* (74.) Cf. Petr. Chrysolog. Serm. 67. n. 10.

[2] John 6, 51.

[3] John 6, 52.

[4] Lib. IV. Dialog. c. 58; and C. *Quid sit sanguis* (73.), ibid. §1, and §2. also for the following passage.

[5] Found in Alcuin, de Divinis officiis c. 40; he cites Gregory, but the words at least are not found there.

wine is there as also the taste; wherefore one thing is seen, another is understood.

PART II

III. *Why under another appearance.*

Moreover Christ gave his flesh and blood under another appearance and ordained that it be thenceforth so received, for three reasons, that is, so that faith might have merit, which believes those things which are not seen; because "faith does not possess merit, where human reason permits proof."[1] And also for this reason, that the spirit should not abhor what the eye discerns, because we are not accustomed to eat raw flesh, and drink blood. Also because it is not right that Christ should be eaten with the teeth, he gave his flesh and blood to us in a mystery. And also on this account, lest the Christian religion be insulted by the unbelieving. Wherefore Augustine[2]: "Nothing is more reasonable than that we should receive the likeness of blood; that so neither the truth should be absent, nor ridicule should be made by pagans, because we drink the blood of a slain man." Lest therefore this should happen, "and lest for instance there be some sort of horror of blood; we receive the sacrament in a symbol."—From the preceding it is now evident, why under another appearance and why under this particular one the Lord celebrated this sacrament, and ordained it to be celebrated by us.

IV. *Why under two species.*

But why is it received under two species since in either Christ is contained entire? "That it might be shown, that he assumed the whole human nature, that he might redeem it all. For bread is related to flesh, wine to the soul, because wine becomes blood, where the seat of the soul is said by physicians to be situated. On this account therefore the Eucharist is celebrated in two forms, that the receiving of soul and flesh by Christ, and the redemptioin of both in

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[1] Gregory, II. Homil. in Evang., homil. 26. n. 1; cf. Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 4.

[2] Can. *Utrum sub figura* (72.), ibid. §2., taken from Paschas. Radb., de Corp. et sang. Domini. c. 13. The following opinion is from C. *Panis est* (55.), loc. cit., from Ambrose, IV. de Sacram. c. 4. n. 20.

us may be signified."[1] For what we receive, as Ambrose[2] says, "has power to preserve the body and the soul; because the flesh of Christ was offered for the salvation of our body and the blood for our soul, just as Moses foreshadowed it. The flesh," he says, "is offered for our body, blood for our soul," but yet "it is received under both species,[3] because it is effective for both, because Christ is received entire under both. But if it were received under one only it would signify that it had power for the one only, that is, soul or body, not for both equally. But under both species Christ is received entire; nor is more received under both or less under one alone." "For there is the same characteristic," as Hilary[4] says, "in the body of Christ, which formerly existed in the manna, concerning which it is said: 'Whoever collected more, did not have more, nor did he who got ready less, have less.'"[5] And although the whole Christ is received under both species, yet there is no change of bread, save into flesh, nor of wine save into blood; nor should they be called *two* sacraments, but one, because under both species is the same thing received; nor ought the sacrament be *repeated*,[6] because the benediction is not repeated over the same species; nor ought other substances be offered for the sacrifice of truth, because from others the body and blood of Christ cannot be consecrated.

V. *Why water is mixed with it.*

But water should be mixed with wine, because water signifies[7] the people, who are redeemed by the passion of Christ. "Therefore the Lord's cup according to the precept of the canons ought to be offered with water mixed in the wine; because we see that in the water the people are understood, and in the wine the blood of Christ is shown. When therefore in the cup water is mixed with wine, the people are joined to Christ, and the company of believers are united to him in whom they believe, which union of water and wine is so

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[1] Glossa ad I. Cor. 11, 26, in Lyranus.

[2] Comment. in I. Cor. 11, 26; see Deut. 12, 23 (cf. Lev. 17, 11.)

[3] Cf. Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 6, whence this opinion is taken.

[4] Can. *Ubi pars* (78.), ibid.; the same opinion is found in Isidore, Serm. 4 de Corp. et sang. Dom. n. 8.

[5] Exod. 16, 18.

[6] Cf. Sum. Sent. loc. cit.

[7] Apoc. 17, 15. Following passage from C. *Cum omne* (7.), ibid. §1.

commingled in the cup of Christ, that the mixture cannot be separated. For if anyone offers wine only, the blood of Christ is there without us."

But if it be asked, whether the act is invalid, if water is left out; hear what follows in this same canon: "The cup of the Lord," it says, "cannot be water alone, or wine alone, but both mixed." Likewise Cyprian[1]: "The cup of the Lord is not water alone, or wine alone, but both mixed; just as the body of the Lord cannot be flour alone, nor water alone, unless both be united, and kneaded into one loaf." But if anyone who does not intend to introduce heresy, leaves out the water by forgetfulness or ignorance, it does not seem that the sacrament is invalid, but he should be severely rebuked. For the Church of the Greeks also is said not to add water. Which opinion it seems can also be gathered from the sayings of Cyprian. For he says: "If any of our predecessors either ignorantly or in simplicity has not given heed to this, which the Lord taught us to do both by example and by precept, he can be pardoned for his simplicity by the indulgence of the Lord. But we cannot be forgiven, who have now been taught by the Lord that we should offer the cup of the Lord mixed with wine just as that which the Lord offered."—And this seems to mean that if anyone simply or ignorantly offers wine without water, he completes the sacrament. But water can never be offered without wine for the sacrifice, nor bread unless of wheat, nor a grain of wheat, unless it be made into bread; because Christ both called himself bread, and compared himself to a grain of wheat.[2] Therefore what was said above, to the effect that wine alone cannot be offered, ought to be explained; for it allows an exception: it cannot be done, unless it is done in simplicity or ignorance, or it cannot, that is, it ought not to be done. To some persons however this rule seems to be universally true.

VI. *Of what nature the body was which Christ gave to his disciples in the supper.*

It is also to be gathered from the authorities previously mentioned, that Christ gave the disciples wine mixed with water. But

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[1] Epist. 63. n. 13, and C. *Sic in sanctificando* (2.), ibid. Below, the words are from ibid. n. 17, and the following canon.

[2] John 6, 48. and 12, 24.

he gave his body of the nature, as he then had it, that is, mortal and capable of suffering; but now it is received by us immortal and beyond suffering; yet it does not have more efficiency. The Eucharist also by intinction ought not to be given to the people for a supplement of the communion,[1] because Christ is not said to have offered a sop to any of the disciples, except to Judas. Judas did not then receive the body of Christ, but only bread; for he had received the body and blood of Christ before, with the other disciples.

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[1] C. *Cum omne* (7.), ibid. §1. Concerning Judas, cf. August., in Ioan. Evang. tr. 62. n. 3, and Sum. Sent. loc. cit. n. 9.

Distinction XII

PART I

I. *Whereon these accidents are based.*

But if we are asked concerning the accidents which remain, that is, concerning the appearance and taste and weight, upon what subject they are based; it seems better to me to confess that they exist without the subject, than that they are in the subject; because there is there no substance, except that of the body and blood of the Lord, which is not affected by these accidents. For the body of Christ has no such form in itself, but such as will appear in the judgment. There remain therefore these accidents subsisting by themselves for the rite of the mystery, for the support of taste and faith, by which accidents the body of Christ having its own form and nature is hidden.[1]

II. *Of the fraction and distribution.*

We are also often asked concerning the fraction and distribution, which seem to be performed there, whether they be real; and if there is a true fraction, of what thing it is, or wherein it is performed. And since there is no other substance there than that of Christ, if this fraction is in any substance, it seems to be in the body of Christ. —But on the contrary, since his body is incorruptible, because it is immortal and incapable of suffering, it does not seem that the fraction can be therein. For Christ also refuted[2] the carnal understanding of the disciples, who thought that the flesh of Christ just as any other was to be divided into parts, and torn to pieces with their teeth. Therefore some are of the opinion that there does not take place the fraction, which appears; but the body is said to be broken, because it seems to be broken.—To them we may reply in the words of Ambrose[3]: "Nothing false must be thought of the sacri-

[1] Cap. I from Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 4, and the following chapter from c. 8.

[2] John 6, 62.

[3] In Glossa ad I. Cor. 11, 24, in Lyranus.

fice of truth; like what occurs in the deceptions of the sorcerers, where the eyes are deceived by some delusion, so that they see what is not."—To this some say: "Our sight does not deceive us, nor is it deceived as it would be if we believed that the body is so broken, as it seems to be, nor is the act all illusion, because it is done for the advantage of faith, not for deception; even as also Christ showed himself to the two disciples on the way in the form of a stranger[1]; yet he did not have such a form, but 'their eyes were holden, lest they recognize him.'—But others say that just as the appearance of bread is there, and there is not the thing to which or in which this form belongs; so there is a fraction, which is not performed on anything, because nothing is there broken; and they say this fraction is done miraculously in the power of God, so that there may be a breaking there, where nothing is broken.

III. *Of the confession of Berengar.*

Others teach that the body of Christ is broken and divided in its essence, and yet exists entire and incorruptible. They assert that they gather this from the confession of Berengar, who confessed in the presence of Pope Nicholas and many bishops[2] that "the bread and wine which are placed upon the altar, after consecration are not only the sacrament, but also the true body and blood of Christ; and that in a sensual manner, not only as the sacrament, but in truth, they are handled and broken in the hands of the priests and are crushed by the teeth of the faithful."

But because the body of Christ is incorruptible, this fraction and distribution can rightly be said to be performed not on the substance of the body, but sacramentally on the form of the bread, that there may be a true fraction and distribution performed not on the substance of the body, but on the sacrament, that is, on the species. But do not marvel or taunt if the accidents seem to be broken when they are there without a subject; although some assert that they are founded on the air! The true fraction and distribution are there, which are performed on the bread, that is, on the species of bread.—

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[1] Lk. 24, 16.

[2] Can. *Ego Berengarius* (42.), de Consecrat. dist. 2 and Lanfranc, de Eucharistiae Sacram. c. 2.

Wherefore the Apostle[1] says, "The bread which we break,"—because the appearance of bread is there broken, and divided into parts, but Christ remains entire, and in his entirety is present in each part. Wherefore Augustine: "When Christ is eaten, life is eaten. But who would dare to eat his Lord? And yet the Truth inviting us to eat says: 'Whoever eateth me, lives on account of me.'[2] Nor is Christ slain that he may be eaten, but he gives life to the dead, when he is eaten; he makes anew, he does not die; eaten he lives, because dead he arose; nor when we eat, do we divide him, and this is certainly the case in the sacrament." The same[3]: "The faithful know in what way they eat the flesh of Christ; everyone receives his part, wherefore also grace itself is said to be in parts. It is eaten in parts, and the whole remains entire; it is eaten in parts in the sacrament, and the whole remains entire in heaven, the whole remains entire in thy heart."—"Therefore these are called sacraments, because in them one thing is seen, and another is understood"; the bread is seen and the cup, and the eyes report them because moreover faith requires to be taught: the bread is the body of Christ, the cup is his blood.—From these authorities we understand that the fraction and the parts which there appear, are in the sacrament, that is, in the visible form. And therefore these words of Berengar are to be interpreted, that not only "in a sensual manner, in the sacrament, but in truth, the body of Christ is said to be touched by the hands of the priests; and broken and chewed by the teeth," in truth certainly but only in the sacrament. Therefore the chewing and distribution there are real; but in each part is the whole Christ. Wherefore Jerome[4]: "Each receives Christ the Lord, and in the single parts he is entire; nor is he diminished in a single portion, but he offers himself entire in each." Likewise Hilary: "Where a part of his body is, there is the whole."

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[1] I. Cor. 10, 16.—Following passage is not in Augustine, but in Bede, I. Cor. 10, 16, and in the Glossa of Lyranus; in C. *Invitat Dominus* (70.), ibid.

[2] John 6, 58.

[3] From the same references, and C. *Qui manducant* (58.), ibid.; same reference §2 for the following passage.

[4] Can. *Singuli accipiunt* (77.), ibid., and Alger, I. de Sacram. etc. c. 15, which is taken from Gregory, libr. Sacrament. Praefatio Dom. 5. post Theophaniam n. 174. Following passage is C. *Ubi pars* (78.), ibid.

IV. *What these parts signify.*

Moreover as to what these parts signify, Pope Sergius[1] teaches, saying: "Of three forms is the body of Christ: the part offered, poured into the cup, shows the body of Christ which has now risen; the part eaten testifies to him as walking here still on earth; the part remaining on the altar to the end of the Mass signifies the body lying in the tomb, because to the end of the world the bodies of the saints will be in their tombs." And just as these parts have a mystical signification, so also the fraction is the representation of the passion and death of Christ, wherefore he himself says, "This do in remembrance of Me,[2] that is, in memory of my passion and death." For as Ambrose says, "because we are freed in the death of Christ, we ought to remember him in eating and drinking his flesh and blood." —But let anyone beware lest he receive unworthily, because 'he eats condemnation to himself.'[3] "For this is not that bread which passes into the body, but the bread of life eternal, which supports the substance of our souls."[4] "Therefore so live, that daily you may deserve to receive," and may not approach unworthily. "He is unworthy, who celebrates the mystery otherwise than as Christ taught," or who approaches when he is in mortal sin. "Therefore although there be deadly sins, in order that they be not mortal, before you approach, forgive your debtors. If you forgive, it will be forgiven you; and thus go safely. For it is the bread of salvation, not a poison." If you go thus, you eat spiritually; "for he eats spiritually, who brings innocence to the altar."

PART II

V. *Whether Christ be sacrificed on the altar daily, and whether what is done by the priests is a sacrifice.*

After these considerations we are asked if what the priest does

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[1] Can. *Triforme* (22.), ibid., ex Glossa ad I. Cor. 11, 24, in Lyranus and Sum. Sent. loc. cit. c. 9.

[2] I. Cor. 11, 24; cf. Glossa, ibid., and Ambrose, Commentary, on the same passage, v. 26; also C. *Quia morte* (50.), ibid.

[3] I. Cor. 11, 29.

[4] Ambrose, V. de Sacram. c. 4. n. 24; the second, ibid. n. 25, cf. C. *Non iste panis* (56), ibid.; third, Comment. cit. v. 27; the following are August., in Ioan. Evang. tr. 26. n. 11, and C. *Panem coelestem* (64.), ibid.

is properly called a sacrifice or an immolation, and if Christ is daily sacrificed, or was only sacrificed once.—To this question we can reply briefly, that that which is offered and consecrated by the priest is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a memorial and a representation of the true sacrifice and of the holy immolation made on the altar of the cross. And Christ died once on the cross, where he was sacrificed in his own person; but daily he is sacrificed in the sacrament, because in the sacrament a remembrance is made of that which was done once. Wherefore Augustine[1]: "We are certain that 'Christ rising again from the dead, dieth now no more,' etc.; yet, lest we forget what was once done, it is done again every year in our memory, that is, as often as Easter is celebrated. How often, do you suppose, does Christ die? But the anniversary remembrance only represents what was done aforetime, and moves us, as if we should see the Lord on the cross." The same[2]: "Christ was once sacrificed in his own person, and yet daily is he sacrificed in the sacrament; which is to be understood thus, that in the manifestation of his body and in the distinction of his members once only he hung on the cross, offering himself to God the Father as an efficient victim of redemption, for those, that is, whom he had predestined." Likewise Ambrose[3]: "In Christ the victim sufficient unto salvation was once offered. What therefore do we do? Do we not offer every day? Even if we offer daily, we do it as a remembrance of his death; and the victim is one, not many. How one, and not many? Because Christ was sacrificed only once. But our sacrifice is a copy of his; the same and always the same is offered, therefore this is the same sacrifice; otherwise it would be said, because it is offered in many places: 'Are there many Christs?' No, but one Christ is everywhere, existing here complete and there complete: just as that which is everywhere offered is one body, so also is it one sacrifice. Christ offered the victim; and we offer the same now, but what we do is a remembrance of his sacrifice." "Nor is it repeated be-

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[1] In Ps. 21. Enarrat. 2. n. 1, and C. *Semel Christus* (51.), de Consecrat. dist. 2. See Rom. 6, 9.

[2] Can. *Semel immolatus est* (52.), ibid., and Alger, I. de Sacram. c. 16, who took his opinion from Augustine, Ep. 98 (alias 23) ad Bonifac. episc. n. 9.

[3] Can. *In Christo semel* (53.), ibid., and Rabanus, Comment. in Epist. ad Hebr. 10, 1; cf. also Chrysostom, hom. 13. on the same passage n. 3.

cause of a weakness in itself, for it makes man perfect, but because of our weakness, because we sin daily."—From these quotations we gather that what is done on the altar is also called a sacrifice; and Christ was offered once long ago, and is offered daily, but in one way then, in another now; and also we are shown what is the virtue of this sacrament, remission, that is, of venial sins, and the perfecting of virtue.

VI. *Of the cause of its institution.*

For this sacrament was instituted for two reasons; for the increase of virtue, that is, of charity, and as a medicine for daily infirmity. Wherefore Ambrose[1]: "If as often as the blood of Christ is shed, it is shed for the remission of sins; I ought always to receive it; I who continually sin, ought continually to have the medicine." Also Augustine[2]: "This oblation is repeated daily, although Christ suffered once, because daily we commit sins, without which mortal infirmity cannot live. And because we fall daily, daily is Christ sacrificed mystically for us." "For he gave us this sacrament of salvation, so that, because we sin daily, and he cannot die again, we might obtain remission through this sacrament. Daily he is truly eaten and drunk, but he remains whole and alive." Likewise: "It is called the mystery of faith, because you ought to believe that upon it our salvation rests."

If moreover anyone asks whether we should daily communicate, hear what St. Augustine says of it[3]: "Daily," he says, "to receive the Eucharist, is a practice I neither praise, nor condemn; however I urge that persons should communicate every Lord's day. But if the mind is in the disposition to sin, I say that it is rather burdened than purified by the receiving of the Eucharist. And although anyone be grieved with sin; if he does not have the will to sin in the future, and makes satisfaction with tears and prayers, let him

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[1] Lib. IV. de Sacram. c. 6. n. 28, and C. *Si quotiescumque* (14.), ibid.

[2] Can. *Utrum sub figura* (72.), ibid. §1, and Paschasius, de Corpore et sang. Dom. c. 9. Following passage, C. *Quid sit sanguis* (73.), ibid. §4. Third, ibid. immediately above.

[3] (Gennad.) de Ecclesiast. Dogmat. c. 23, and C. *Quotidie* (13.), ibid. Following passage, C. *Etsi non frequentius* (16), ibid. Third, C. *Peracta consecratione* (10.), ibid.

approach secure, but I say this of him who is not burdened by mortal sins."—"If not more frequently, at least three times a year let men communicate, unless by chance someone is hindered by crimes: at Easter, that is, and Pentecost, and at Christmas." "Let all therefore communicate, who do not wish to be outside the doors of the Church."

I. *Whether this sacrament is administered by heretics and excommunicated persons.*

We are also often asked whether wicked priests can administer this sacrament.—To this we may answer that some priests, although they are evil, consecrate truly, that is, those who are within the Church in name and in sacrament, even if not in life; because the consecration is effected not by the merit of the consecrant, but by the word of the Creator; wherefore Augustine[1]: "Within the Catholic Church, in the mystery of the body and blood of the Lord, nothing more is accomplished by a good priest, nothing less by a bad priest, because the consecration is not by the merit of the consecrant, but by the word of the Creator; and by the virtue of the holy Spirit. For it must be believed that the sacraments are administered in the words of Christ. Just as it is he himself who baptizes, so it is he who by the holy Spirit makes his own flesh and blood." Also Gregory[2]: "Some think that the communion of the body is less sanctified, if priests officiate whose lives seem to their eyes ignoble. Alas! into what a great snare do they fall, when they believe that divine and occult mysteries can be made more sanctified by other men, whereas one and the same holy Spirit in the whole Church invisibly sanctifies these mysteries by his operation, and blesses them by his sanctification! Therefore it is called a mystery, because it has a secret and hidden dispensation; also a sacrifice as a holy thing is performed, for in the mystic prayer a sacrifice is sanctified for us in memory of the Lord's passion. A sacrament occurs in any celebration, when one thing is accomplished through another thing so that we receive something of the thing signified. The sacraments are: baptism, chrism, the body of Christ, and these are called sacraments for the reason that under the cover of visible things the divine virtue secretly works the salvation of the same sacraments; wherefore, they are called sacraments from secret or sacred virtues. The sacrament of the bread and cup is called *Eucharistia* in Greek, interpreted in Latin *bona gratia;* and what better than the body and blood of Christ? Whether

[1] Can. *Intra catholicam* (77.), C. 1. q. 1. and Alger, III. de Sacram. c. 8.

[2] Can. *Multi saecularium* (84.), ibid.—The greater part of this passage is found in Isidore, VI. Etymologies. c. 19. n. 38. ff.

therefore it is dispensed by good or by bad ministers within the Church, yet it is a sacrament, because the holy Spirit vivifies it; nor is it increased by the merits of good dispensers, nor lessened by evil. This same must be said and believed of the body of the Lord and of baptism and chrism; because divine virtue works secretly in them, and this virtue or power is only divine, not human efficacy."

But those who are excommunicated or clearly branded with heresy, do not seem to be able to perform this sacrament, although they are priests, because no one says in his consecration: "I offer," but: "We offer," as if in the name of the Church. And therefore although other sacraments can be celebrated outside the Church, it does not seem that this sacrament can be. Which also Augustine[1] seems to teach saying: "Consider the name, and observe the truth! For it is called the mass, because the heavenly messenger comes to consecrate the vivified body, according to the word of the priest when he says: 'Almighty God, command that this be borne by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high,' etc. Therefore unless the angel comes, it can in no wise rightly be called a mass. For do you suppose if a heretic had dared to usurp this mystery, God would send the angel from heaven to consecrate his oblation; especially since he has threatened heretics through the prophet saying[2]: 'I will curse your blessings.' And if the Truth asserts that he will curse their blessings how will it be with their offering? Therefore shall we say that the offering can be blessed by God, when we know it to be cursed by God together with their blessing? For if God has cursed the blessings of the heretics, and a schismatic has blessed them; which of them will prevail? Do you suppose that the blessing of the one accursed can reduce to nothing the truest words of the threatening God?"

From these citations we may gather that a heretic cut off from the Catholic Church,[3] is unable to perform this sacrament; because the holy angels, who assist in the celebration of this mystery are not then present, when a heretic or schismatic recklessly presumes to celebrate this mystery. For we may not doubt that where the mys-

[1] Not from Augustine, who rather with the common opinion teaches the contrary. Source not found. Prayer cited is in the canon of the mass after the consecration.

[2] Mal. 2, 2.

[3] For the following, cf. Bede, on Luke 24, 4.

teries of the body and blood of the Lord are performed, an assembly of the celestial citizens is present. Moreover in the accomplishment of this mystery, just as the form should be preserved, so must the order be regarded, that is, it is necessary that there be a priest, and the intention must be felt that he intends to perform it.—But if he does not believe the truth concerning this mystery, do you suppose he can intend to perform it? And if he does not intend, do you suppose he performs it?—Some even say, that if he does not think rightly of this mystery he can intend not indeed to perform it, which would then be to believe rightly, but to do that which is done by others when the mystery is performed, and thus the intention is present; and even if the intention of performing this mystery may be said to be lacking, nevertheless inasmuch as he intends to say and do things, which are done by others, the mystery is accomplished. We can also reasonably say, that the body of Christ is not received by brute animals, even if it seems to be. What then does a mouse receive, or what does it eat? God knows.—Concerning this heavenly mystery we have touched lightly upon some points which should be held faithfully by Catholics; for whoever contradicts these things, is judged a heretic.

II. *What constitutes a heretic, and what a heretic is.*

But lest you be ignorant of what constitutes a heretic or what a heretic is, hear briefly what the holy doctors teach of it. Hilary says[1]: "There have been many who recognized the simplicity of the heavenly words, not the perfection of the truth itself, interpreting them otherwise than as the virtue of the words demands. For heresy is in the interpretation, it is not in the Scripture; and the idea not the discourse becomes the sin." The same in the seventh book[2]: "The idea of the interpretation is to blame." Jerome[3] says that "heresy comes from words quoted without regard to order." Augustine, defining what a heretic is, says[4]: "A heretic is one who produces or follows false and new opinions for the sake of some temporal convenience and especially for glory and pre-eminence for himself."

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[1] Lib. II. de Trin. n. 3.—Following passage, ibid. VII. n. 83, where we find his words. A similar idea in ibid. VIII. n. 4 and 11.

[2] See preceding note.

[3] Not found in Jerome. Glossa ad Osee 2, 16. (Lyranus.)

[4] Lib. de Utilitate credendi, c. 1. n. 1.

Distinction XIV

PART I

I. *Of penance, and why it is called penance.*

Next we must discuss penance. Penance is needful to those who are far from God, that they may come near. For it is, as Jerome[1] says, "the second plank after shipwreck"; because if anyone by sinning sullies the robe of innocence received in baptism, he can restore it by the remedy of penance. The first plank is baptism, where the old man is laid aside and the new put on; the second, penance, by which after a fall we rise again, while the old state which had returned is disdained, and the new one which had been lost is resumed. Those who have lapsed after baptism can be restored by penance, but not by baptism. A man is allowed to do penance often, but not to be baptized often. Baptism is called only a sacrament, but penance is called both a sacrament and virtue of the mind. For there is an inner penance, and an outer: the outer is the sacrament, the inner is the virtue of the mind; and both are for the sake of salvation and justification.—But whether all outer penance is a sacrament, or if not all, what is to be classed under this name, we shall investigate later.[2]—With penance began the preaching of John who said: "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." "And what the herald taught, the Truth afterwards preached, beginning his discourse with penance."

II. *What penance is, and what it is to do penance.*

"It is called penance from punishment, for by it a man punishes the sins which he has committed. The virtue of penance is conceived in fear." Wherefore Isaiah[3]: "By the fear of thee, oh Lord, have we

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[1] Ep. 130, ad Demetriadem (alias 8.) n. 9; cf. Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 10. Below, cf. Eph. 4, 22. 24.

[2] Dist. XXII. c. 2.—Following passage of Scripture from Matt. 3, 2 and see also 4, 17.—What follows to the passage from Ambrose is from the Glossa *ordinaria* ibid.

[3] Is. 26, 18.

conceived, and have brought forth the spirit of salvation." "Moreover penance is, as Ambrose[1] says, to lament past evils, and not commit again what must be lamented." Likewise Gregory[2]: "To repent is to bewail the sins committed previously, and not to commit what must be bewailed. For he who deplores some, so that he may commit others, is either as yet ignorant of how to do penance, or he dissembles. For what value is there if he bewails his sins of luxury, and yet pants with the fever of avarice?"

PART II

Some persons clinging vehemently to these words, contend that the truly penitent cannot[3] again sin to condemnation; and if he does sin grievously, he did not earlier do true penance. This view they even defend by other testimonies. For Isidore says[4]: "He is a scoffer and not a penitent, who still does that of which he repents. Nor does he seem to desire to call on God humbly, but to mock him proudly: 'a dog is returned to his vomit, and the penitent to his sin.' Many shed their tears without ceasing, and do not cease to sin. I observe that some have tears for penance and have not the effect of penance, because in the inconstancy of their mind they now shed tears in remembrance of sin; now when the habit reasserts itself, they commit again the things which they bewailed. Isaiah says concerning sinners: "Wash yourselves, be clean." He is both washed and is clean who both laments the past, and does not again commit the deeds he has bewailed. He is washed, and is not clean, who laments the things he does, and does not forsake them, and after his tears repeats the things which he has wept over." Also Augustine[5]: "Penance is vain, which subsequent guilt contaminates entirely. Lamentations are of no avail, if sins are repeated. It is of no value to ask pardon for sins, and repeat the sins afresh." Also Gregory[6]: "He who laments what he has committed, yet does not abandon it,

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[1] (Among his works) Serm. 25. (de s. Quadrag. 9.) n. 1; C. *Poenitentia est* (1.), de Poenitentia dist. 3.

[2] II. Homil. in Evang., hom. 34. n. 15; C. *Poenitentiam agere* (6.), ibid.

[3] Cf. Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 12.

[4] Lib. II. Sent. c. 16 n. 1; C. *Irrisor* (11.), ibid. Below, see II. Pet. 2, 22, and Prov. 26, 11, next Is. 1, 16.

[5] Rather Isidore, I. Synonym. n. 77; C. *Inanis* (12.), ibid.

[6] Regula pastor. p. III. c. 30; C. *Qui admissa* (14.), ibid.

subjects himself to more severe punishment." Also Ambrose[1]: "There are men who think that penance should be done repeatedly, who luxuriate in Christ. For if they did penance truly in Christ, they would not think that they needed to repeat it afterwards; because, just as there is one baptism, so there is one penance."—These and many other authorities they use for the support of their opinion. But Ambrose says[2]: "This is true penance, to cease from sin." And again[3]: "It is of great profit to renounce error." "For to free and purify souls steeped in vice is the work of perfect virtue and heavenly grace." [4]

And therefore it may be certainly defined: penance is the virtue or grace by which we lament and hate the evils committed, with the purpose of amendment and do not wish to commit further what must be lamented; because true penance is to grieve in spirit and to hate the offences.—Wherefore the preceding words: "to do penance is to bewail what has been done and not to commit what must be bewailed," may be thus rightly understood, that they refer not to different times, but to the same time, so that at the time a man bewails the sins committed, he does not commit in will or in deed what he must bewail; this is implied in the following words: "For whoever thus deplores some things," etc. Hence Augustine says[5]: "We must beware, lest anyone suppose that he may daily perpetrate these heinous offences, and redeem them by almsgiving, who do such things 'shall not possess the kingdom of God.' For life must be changed to better, and by almsgiving God may be propitiated for past sins, but not bought in any way, so as to allow wrongs to be committed with impunity. For to no one did he give freedom to sin, even if by lamenting he wiped out sins committed, when the proper satisfaction was not neglected." Also Pope Pius[6]: "It is of no profit to a man to fast and pray, and to do the other acts of religion, unless he recalls his mind from iniquity."—

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[1] Lib. II. de Poenitentia, c. 10. n. 95; C. *Reperiuntur* (2.), ibid.

[2] Among his works, on II. Ep. ad Cor. 2, 7.

[3] Exposit. in Ps. 118, Serm. 22. n. 2.

[4] Ibid. n. 3.

[5] Enchirid. c. 70. n. 19; C. *Sane cavendum est* (18.), ibid. See I. Cor. 6, 9. 10.

[6] Ep. 1, and C. *Nihil prodest* (21.), ibid.—Following is taken from the Summa Sent. tr. 6. c. 12.

Whoever therefore so recalls his mind from evil, that he laments what was committed, and does not wish to commit what must be lamented, and does not neglect to make satisfaction, does penance truly. Nor can it be said that it was not true penance, if afterwards, not purposely, but accidentally, or through infirmity, he may perhaps sin. But he is a scoffer and not a penitent who laments what he has committed, in such a way that he does not cease to commit in word and deed what he has lamented. He who repeats after tears what he has bewailed, is washed for the time being, but is not clean, that is, the cleansing is not sufficient for him unto salvation, because it is momentary, not permanent. And also this statement: "Penance is in vain, which succeeding sin stains," is thus to be interpreted: It is in vain, that is, wanting in the fruit of that penance, which succeeding sin stains. For the fruit of penance is the avoiding of gehenna and the attainment of glory. And that penance and other preceding good deeds are annihilated by the succeeding sin, so that they do not obtain the reward which they deserved when they were done, and which they would have had if sin had not followed. But if penance be done also for that following sin, both the penance which preceded and the other previous good deeds revive; but only those which sprang from charity. For those deeds alone live, which are done in charity; and on that account if they are annihilated by following sins, they may revive by subsequent penance. But those deeds which are done without charity are brought forth dead and void; and therefore they are not able to revive by penance. Similarly this saying is to be understood: "Lamentations avail nothing," etc.; and this: "Nothing is able," etc. For if sins are repeated, preceding lamentation avails nothing for salvation or for pardon in the end, because nothing is left of the cleanness of life; because either the sins which have been remitted return, as some think when they are repeated; or if they do not return, and even though they are forgiven, the man becomes as guilty and unclean on account of ingratitude, since he is still involved in sins to be expiated, as if the sins already forgiven returned. This question however, that is, whether sins return, we shall treat more fully afterwards.[1] Likewise it avails nothing for obtaining salvation, or for having cleanness of life, to ask pardon for evils done, and then to repeat afresh the evils.—In

[1] Dist. XXII. c. 1.

this way must be understood that which Augustine[1] says elsewhere: "Penance is a sort of vengeance of the one who grieves, always punishing in himself what he grieves to have committed." And below: "We should grieve daily for sin, as the very nature of the word declares. For to do penance is to do punishment,[2] so that one may always punish in himself by vengeance what he committed by sinning. Now he does punishment, who always avenges what he laments that he has committed." "What remains to us, except to lament in life? for where grief is ended, penance also is lacking. But if penance is ended, what is left of pardon? Let a man praise and hope for grace only as long as he is sustained by penance. For the Lord says[3]: 'Go, and do not desire to sin any more.' He did not say, do not sin, but let not the will to sin rise in you. How will this commandment be observed, unless grief be continually preserved in penance? But let a man always grieve, and rejoice in grief; and let it not be enough that he should grieve, but let him grieve from faith, and let him grieve that he has not always grieved."

Of the penance of the perfect, sufficing even unto salvation, we must understand what I said above, that is: "Penance is a vengeance always punishing what one has committed"; and other things of the same sort. But this statement: "If penance is finished, nothing is left of pardon," may be received in two ways. For if according to the belief of some persons, sins which have been forgiven return, it is easy to understand that nothing of pardon is left; because the sins forgiven are again repeated. For just as one who is manumitted from slavery into freedom, for a time[4] is truly free, and yet on account of an offense is afterward returned to slavery; so also sins are truly remitted in penance, and yet on account of the repetition of the offense they return again.—But if the sins are said not to return, it may reasonably be said also that nothing of pardon is left, not because forgiven sins are imputed again, but because on account

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[1] De vera et falsa Poenitentia (among his works), c. 8. n. 22; following passage, ibid. c. 19. n. 35; both in C. *Poenitentia est* (4.), ibid. Third, ibid. c. 13. n. 28; C. *Si Apostolus* (5.), ibid.

[2] The play on words is lost in the English. The Pseudo-Augustine says: *Poenitere* enim est *poenam tenere* . . .

[3] John 8, 11.

[4] Or, *again*, as Gratian in C. *Quamvis caute* (22.), ibid., from which this whole explanation is excerpted.

of ingratitude the man becomes as guilty and unclean, as if they did return.

III. *Of the solemn and single penance.*

Moreover that which Ambrose says, They are repeated, etc.; and: Just as there is one baptism, so also there is one penance, is to be understood not of the general, but of the special custom of the Church for solemn penance, which among some people is once celebrated and not repeated. Also this other passage of Ambrose[1]: "Penance once performed but not truly celebrated, both robs an earlier penance of its fruit and destroys the value of a later"; is to be understood of solemn penance. But solemn penance, as Ambrose says in the same passage, is that which is done outside the Church, in public, in ashes and sack-cloth, and which is only imposed for grievous and horrible and public sins. And this is not to be repeated, for reverence of the sacrament that it may not become worthless or be made contemptible to men. Wherefore Augustine[2]: "Although it is provided wisely and wholesomely that an opportunity for this humble penance be only once granted in the Church, lest the medicine be cheap or less useful for the sick, which is the more wholesome, the less it is despised; who would yet dare to say to God: 'Why dost thou spare again the man who after his first penance again binds himself in the snares of iniquity?' " Origen[3] also says of this solemn penance, which is enjoined for more serious offences: "If some mortal guilt has befallen us, which does not consist of mortal crime, or of blasphemy against the faith, but of some offence of speech or character; this guilt can always be repaired, nor is it forbidden to do penance for such things; but not so for more grievous offences. For more grievous offences an opportunity for penance is only granted once. The common errors which we frequently commit, always accept of penance, and always are redeemed."—By common sins he means venial sins, and perhaps some mortal sins less grievous than others, which, as they are often committed, are frequently also

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[1] Lib. II. de Poenitentia, c. 11. n. 104; C. *In salicibus* (37.), ibid.; cf. Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 12.

[2] Ep. 153. (alias 54.) ad Macedonium, c. 3. n. 7; C. *Quamvis caute*, supra cit.

[3] Homil. 15. in Levit. (25, 29.) n. 2; the Master having omitted much else, added the words: but not so concerning more grievous offences.

redeemed through penance. But penance is done only once for more serious offences, that is the solemn penance. For these sins also, if they are repeated, penance is repeated, but not the solemn penance, but this rule however is not observed in some Churches.

IV. *That sins are forgiven frequently by penance.*

But that penance is done not once only, but is frequently repeated, and by it frequently pardon is again afforded; is proved by many testimonies of the saints. For Augustine[1] says, writing against certain heretics who asserted that penance was useful only once for those who sin after baptism: "The faithless still assail us, who know more than they should, not sober, but out of bounds; they say: 'And if penance has value for those who sin once after baptism, yet repeated it is not of value to those who sin often; otherwise remission would be an encouragement to sin.' For they say: 'Who would not always sin, if he could always be restored through penance?' For they call the Lord an encourager of evil, if he always aids sinners; and says that sins are pleasing to him, for which grace is always at hand. But they err. For it is evident that sins much displease him, who is always ready to destroy them; if he loved them, he would not always destroy them." The same to Macedonius[2]: "To such lengths does the iniquity of men sometimes go, even after penance has been performed, and reconciliation to the altar, they commit either similar or more grievous sins. And yet God causes his sun to rise even upon them, nor does he grant less freely than before the most abundant gifts of life and salvation. And although an opportunity for penance is not granted them in the Church, yet God does not forget his patience towards them. If anyone of their number should say to you: Tell me whether it avails anything for a future life, if in this life I have contempt for the most enticing allurements of pleasure, if I distress myself more vehemently than before by doing penance, if I weep more copiously, if I live better, if I help the poor more abundantly, if I am aflame more ardently with charity; who of you would be so

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[1] Lib. de vera et falsa poenitentia, c. 5. n. 11; C. *Adhuc instant* (32.), ibid. See Rom. 12, 3.

[2] Ep. 153. (alias 54.) ad Macedonium, c. 3. n. 7; C. *In tantum* (33.), ibid. See Matt. 5, 45.

foolish as to say to this man: These things will profit you nothing in the future? Go, at least enjoy the pleasantness of this life. May God avert such monstrous and sacrilegious madness." Also John Chrysostom[1], on the restoration of the fallen: "Such, believe me, such is the pity of God towards men: never does he spurn penance, if it be offered him sincerely and in simplicity; even if a man reach the extreme of wickedness, and wishes then to return to the life of virtue; he receives him freely and embraces him, and does everything until he brings him back to his former state. And what is still more excellent and more extraordinary, even if one is not able to perform the whole order of rendering satisfaction, he does not reject a penance, however small and done in however short a time; he accepts even that, nor does he suffer the reward of conversion, however humble, to be lost." This same view may also be supported by examples. For David,[2] by penance, obtained pardon at the same time for adultery and murder; and yet afterwards he sinned grievously in the numbering of the people, as was shown by the multitude of the people destroyed. "But this is admirable, that he offered himself to the angel who smote the people saying, 'Let thy hand be turned upon me, and upon my father's house.' When he had done this, he was immediately judged worthy of sacrifice, though he had been judged unworthy of absolution. Nor is it strange if by so great an oblation of himself, for the people, he obtained pardon of sin for himself; since Moses by offering himself for the error of the people, removed their sins." [3]

From these and from many other testimonies it is clearly shown, that by penance not only once, but often, we rise from our sins, and that true penance may be done repeatedly. "For if we sin wilfully," as says the Apostle,[4] "there is now left no sacrifice for sins," that is, because once only must Christ have to suffer; nor is a second baptism left; but there is left a second penance, and a third, and after that another, as John Chrysostom[5] says on this passage: "It must

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[1] Lib. I. Ad Theodorum lapsum adhoratio n. 6; C. *Talis mihi* (28.), ibid.

[2] II. Kings 12, 13.

[3] Ambrose, de Apologia David, c. 7. n. 38; C. *Illud vero* (26.), ibid. See II. Ki. 24, 17; I. Paralip. 21, 17.

[4] Heb. 10, 26.

[5] Homil. 20. n. 1.

be known," he says, "that some arise at this point doing away with penance on the pretext of these words; just as if by penance a sinner after a fall could not rise a second time, and a third, and after that. But indeed in this passage the apostle does not exclude penance nor propitiation, which is often accomplished by penance; but a second baptism, and a (second) sacrifice."

Distinction XV

PART I

I. *That a man snared in many sins cannot do penance truly for one, unless he do penance for all.*

And just as by the aforesaid authorities is proven, the error of those who think that penance cannot be done often, and deny that sinners rise frequently by it from their falls; so on the same authorities is overcome the opposition of those who assert that a man ensnared in many sins, may repent truly of one, and may obtain the pardon of the same from the Lord without penance for another. Which opinion they also try to strengthen by authorities. For the Prophet says[1]: "God will not judge twice for the same thing," or, as others have translated: "There shall not rise double affliction." If therefore, they say, anyone confesses to a priest one of two or more sins, and completes the penance for it enjoined on him by the priest as satisfaction, having kept silent about the other sins, he should not be judged again for the sin, for which he has made satisfaction according to the judgment of the priest, who bears Christ's power in the Church. For if he were judged again for it, the Lord would judge twice for the same thing and there would arise double affliction.—But "this ought only to be understood of those persons who are changed for the better by present punishment, and thus persevere, over whom there shall not rise double affliction. But those who are made harsher and meaner by lashes, like Pharaoh,[2] add eternal pains to the present ones, so that temporal punishment is for them the beginning of eternal punishment. Wherefore Augustine: 'The fire is kindled,' etc.,—that is: the vengeance shall begin here—'and will burn unto utter condemnation.'" This must be noted in opposition to the persons who say, that 'God will not judge twice for the same thing' applies to all chastisement, namely that

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[1] Nahum 1, 9.

[2] Exod. c. 7. f.—This whole passage taken from Gratian, C. *Sunt plures* (42.), de Poenitentia dist. 3 §1, and C. *Ignis succensus est* (43.), ibid. See Deut. 32, 22. See Gregory, (instead of Augustine), XVIII. Moral. c. 22. n. 35.

some are corrected by chastisement here, others are punished here and forever."

II. *For what reasons chastisement befalls us.*

For chastisement befalls us in five ways: either that the merits of the just may be increased by patience, like Job; or for the preservation of virtues, lest pride should tempt us, like Paul; or for the correcting of sins, like Mary's leprosy, or for the glory of God, like the man born blind; or for the beginning of punishment, like Herod, that here may be seen what happens in hell, according to this saying[1]: "Consume them with double contrition, oh Lord." "Therefore the authority of Nahum does not compel us to believe that all those evils which are temporally punished are not to be punished later by God."

III. *Of the Egyptians and Sodomites, who are said to have been punished temporally, lest they perish forever.*

For although in his comment on this passage Jerome says that the Egyptians and Israelites were punished temporally by God, that they might not be punished forever, yet his words are not to be taken generally of all. For he says[2]: "Because he punished the human race in the flood, the Sodomites by fire, the Egyptians in the sea, and the Israelites in the desert, understand that he punished them temporally for their sins so as not to punish them forever," because God will not judge twice for the same thing. Those therefore who have been punished, will not be punished afterward; otherwise the Scripture deceives us, to say which is a sin.

Attend, reader, to these words, and beware lest you understand them generally of everyone, "and not only of those who did penance under the scourge, believing on the God of the Hebrews; which penance although brief and for the moment, God does not despise."[3] But that those who are not corrected by temporal chastisement, are

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[1] Jer. 17, 18. Above, see Job 1, 12 f.; II. Cor. 12, 7; Num. 12, 10; John 9, 3; Acts 12, 23. Passage from Bede, on Matt. 9, 4.

[2] Loc. cit. in Nahum; cf. Gen. 7, 41; 19, 24; Exod. 14, 28; Num. 11, 33. Here almost the whole chapter and the last proposition of the preceding are taken from Gratian, cit. C. *Sunt plures*.

[3] C. *Sunt plures* (42.), de Poen. dist. 3. §1.

punished afterwards eternally, Jerome shows in the same passage where he treats of a believer taken in adultery, who was beheaded; and where he shows that trivial sins are purged by brief and temporal punishment, but great ones are reserved for long and eternal punishment, as he says[1]: "Should anyone ask here, if the believer taken in adultery is beheaded, what becomes of him afterwards? For either he will be punished, and the saying is false: 'God will not judge twice for the same thing'; or he will not be punished, and adulterers ought to choose to be punished here with brief penalty, that they may escape eternal tortures. To this we reply, that God knows the measure of punishments as of all things; and that he is not prevented by the sentence of the judge, nor does he lose the power of inflicting punishment afterwards on the sinner; and a great sin is atoned for by great and lasting tortures; but that if a man is punished temporally, as he who cursed the Israelite, and he who gathered fire-wood on the sabbath, such are not punished afterwards, because a light offence is compensated for by present punishment. For a light offence is compensated for by light punishment."—By these words Jerome has intimated clearly enough that grievous sins both are punished here by heavy penalty, and in the future must be punished eternally, for which penance is not done during chastisement; but trivial ones which are here punished, receive atonement by light punishment. This we do not doubt is true in the case of the good, and in the case of the evil perhaps it is also true.—Now it is evident enough that what they quoted from the prophecy does not support them who say that a man who keeps a crime to himself may win pardon for another sin by penance.

PART II

Also they cite other authorities. For Gregory says[2]: " 'The Lord rains on one city, and does not rain on another'; and the same city he floods in part, and in part leaves dry. When he who hates his neighbor, corrects himself of other sins, one and the same city is flooded in part, and in part remains dry; because there are persons who when they cut off some sins, become grievously hardened

[1] Jerome, loc. cit. a little below; C. *Quaerat hic aliquis* (44.), ibid.

[2] Lib. I. in Ezech. hom. 10. n. 23; C. *Pluit Dominus* (40.), de Poenitentia d. 3. See Amos 4, 7.

in others." Also Ambrose[1]: "The first consolation is, that God does not forget to show compassion"; "the second relates to punishment, where even though faith is absent, the penalty satisfies and raises up again."—They also use reason, saying: "If he who has confessed one sin, and kept secret about another has fulfilled the satisfaction enjoined by the priest; do you suppose that if converted he should confess the secret sin, penance would be imposed on him for both? This seems far from reason, and from the custom of the Church, which imposes penance on no one twice for the same sin, unless[2] repeated. Therefore the satisfaction was sufficient for the sin, and therefore also it seems the sin was forgiven."

To these we can answer as follows: The saying of Gregory: "The Lord rained," etc., must refer not to the pardon of the offence, but to the abandonment of sin[3]; as part of the city is said to be flooded, in the sense that the man now ceases from the act and delight of sin, to which before time he was a slave, not in the sense that he has his pardon. And the rain is called continence, by which he is recalled from the work of sin, because it is instilled in his heart from the fount of the grace of God, so that either thus little by little he may come to penance, or may be less punished by God, when otherwise he would have stored up torment for himself from lasting delight in and doing of sin. But if the rain be referred to pardon of guilt, it will seem to be contrary to the saying of the Gospel.[4] For if on account of lack of pity, when a man has not pitied his neighbor, even those sins which have been remitted are repeated for punishment, much more those sins which have not yet been remitted are evidently reserved for punishment on account of his hatred for his brothers. And if he "who is appointed master of his own will, is not able to begin a new life, as Augustine[5] says, unless he repents of his former life; how shall he come to the newness of pardon who

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[1] In Ps. 118, sermo 18. n. 3; see Ps. 76, 10. Following passage ibid. n. 2; C. *Prima consolatio* (41.), ibid.

[2] The reason given by the defenders of this error, that is the custom of the Church, is not correct.

[3] The whole of the following interpretation is taken almost literally from Gratian, C. *Quaerat hic aliquis* (44.), ibid.

[4] See Matt. 18, 32.

[5] Sermo 351. (alias hom. 50.) c. 2. n. 2. In the following, see Ps. 18, 13; Rom. 14, 23; I. Cor. 4, 4.

has not put aside the old robe of hate?"—Also the saying of Ambrose: "Even if faith is absent, the penalty satisfies," etc., is not meant of the faith with which we believe on God, but of the consciousness of sin. For faith is absent, when the sense of sin is not present. For since no one knows all his sins, there is sometimes in a man sin of which he is not conscious. Wherefore the Apostle: "I am not conscious to myself of anything, yet am I not hereby justified." When therefore someone is scourged for a sin of which he is not conscious, if he bears patiently the punishment, and humbly embraces it, thinking that by chance he has committed a sin, which he does not know, and for that he is being punished by God, the punishment satisfies, and raises up again the one afflicted. But as to the objection which is made concerning this satisfaction: "if it was not a satisfaction, it must be again imposed; but if it is not to be imposed again, it was a satisfaction: and if it was a satisfaction, it has obtained pardon"; we can answer likewise that there was no satisfaction,[1] because the man did not bring forth fruits worthy of penance. "For the satisfaction of penance," as Augustine[2] says, "is to remove the causes of sin, nor afford an approach to their suggestions." Also[3]: "Assuredly those who live wickedly and do not care to correct their life and ways, and yet amid their evil deeds do not cease to give alms frequently, deceive themselves in vain, on the ground that the Lord says: 'Give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.' For they do not know how widely this reaches." "For there are many kinds of alms, which benefit us, when we give them. Not only does he give alms who gives food to a hungry man, drink to a thirsty, and the like; but also he who gives pardon to one seeking it, gives alms, and he to whom power is given, who corrects with the lash, or restrains by some discipline, or prays that sin may be remitted unto a man, gives alms, because he excels in pity."

IV. *Of the kinds of alms.*

"For many good things are bestowed upon the unwilling, when

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[1] See Matt. 3, 8.

[2] (Gennadius) de Ecclesiast. Dogmatibus, c. 24; C. *Satisfactio poenitentiae* (3.), ibid.

[3] Augustine, Enchiridion, c. 75. n. 20. See Luke 11, 41. Following passage, ibid. c. 72. n. 19. See Matt. 25, 37 ff.

their profit is considered, and not their will." [1] "But this is greater when from the heart we forgive the sin that someone has committed against us. For it is not so much to be well-wishing to him who has done you no evil. This is much grander that you love even your enemy, and that you always wish him well, and do what you can for him who has wished you evil, and, if possible, has done it." "Therefore when the Lord says: 'Give alms, and all things are clean unto you'; we are to understand that to those not believing on Christ, all things are clean, if they have given alms." "For whoever wishes to give alms methodically, ought to begin with himself, and first give them to himself."

V. *What alms are.*

"For alms are a work of mercy, as is most truly said, 'Have pity on thy own soul, pleasing God.'" [2] "They do not therefore deceive themselves, who think that by abundant alms of their fruits or of their riches, they buy themselves impunity, and continue in their sins, which they so love, that they desire to remain in them. 'But he who loves iniquity, hateth his own soul,' and whoever hates his own soul, is not merciful to it, but cruel. Certainly by loving it according to the world, he hates it according to God. If therefore he wishes to give it alms, through which it may be made clean, let him hate it according to the world, and love it according to God." By the alms, which a man owes first of all to himself, the inner man is cleansed. Christ exhorts us to this and says: "Make clean the things that are within. For nothing is clean to the unclean"; but "their mind and conscience are polluted," as the Apostle says. But all are unclean, whom faith does not cleanse, by which we believe on Christ; of this it is written: "Cleansing their hearts by faith." "But lest it seem that Christ rejects the alms which are offered of the fruits of the earth; 'those,' he says, 'ought to have been done,' that is judgment and love of God, 'and the others not omitted,' that is, alms of earthly fruits." [3]

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[1] August., ibid.; following passage ibid. c. 73. n. 19. (Cf. III. Sent. d. XXX. of the Lombard); third, ibid. c. 75. n. 20; fourth, ibid. c. 76. n. 20.

[2] Ibid.; following passage ibid. 77. n. 20; in the first, see Ecclus. 30, 24; in the second, Ps. 10, 6.—Also what follows, for the opinion, is ibid. c. 76. n. 20. See Matt. 23, 26, and Tit. 1, 15; next Acts 15, 9.

[3] Ibid. c. 76. n. 20. See Luke 11, 42.

VI. *Whether those who remain in mortal sin and yet give large alms, should be said to make satisfaction.*

From these testimonies we are allowed to know that those persons who remain in mortal sin, even if they give large alms, do not make satisfaction by these, because they do them out of order, since they do not begin with themselves. Nor is such work properly called alms-giving, while they are cruel to themselves, and not pleasing to God. Therefore that must not be called satisfaction for sin, which a man does for one sin, while he persists in another; because "to fast and pray and do other good works is of no avail, unless the mind is recalled from sin"[1]: and if at length the man is converted and confesses the secret sin to a priest, satisfaction must be imposed on him for both, because he has not made satisfaction worthily for the first.

However some think that there was satisfaction, but unfruitful, while the man persisted in another sin; however its fruit was received, and he will begin to derive advantage, when he has done penance for the other sin. For then both sins will be forgiven and the preceding satisfaction will be made alive, which was dead; just as the Baptism of a man who assented insincerely to it is of value for the first time when pretence leaves his mind through penance. And they cite authorities in defence of this opinion. For Augustine says[2]: "It is pious to believe, and our faith demands, that, when the grace of Christ in a man has destroyed his former evil, it should also reward the good; and when it has destroyed what it found was not its own, it should love the good which it has planted in the sinner." Also Jerome[3]: "If you ever see a man do some just works among many sins; God is not so unjust as to forget the good deeds on account of the evil; but he will have these which he has planted in good soil reaped and gathered into barns."—But we understand these sayings of him who sometimes does good things in charity, and is good, but at some other time is evil and commits many sins. We are not thereby to understand that he has done just works among many sins, as if at one and the same time he committed sins and

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[1] Can. *Nihil prodest* (21.), ibid.—Interpretation below almost word for word from Gratian, C. *Quaerat hic aliquis* (44.), ibid.

[2] De vera et falsa Poenitentia (Pseudo-Augustine), c. 14. n. 29.

[3] Comment. in Aggaeum 1, 6.

just works, but that at different times he has done both. For unless he was good when he did good things, it would not be said that the seed was planted in good soil. Therefore when the offences committed after good works have been wiped out, the earlier good works which were done in charity, and which the offences following have killed, will come to life and be rewarded when penance has been done for those offences. Wherefore the Apostle[1]: "Laying again the foundation of penance from dead works"; when he speaks of dead works, signifies former good works, which were dead through subsequent sin, because these persons made their earlier good works of no effect by sinning. Just as these good works become of no effect by sin, so they are revived by penance, and begin to be of value for the winning of eternity. Likewise God loves the good, which he has planted in the sinner, in him, that is, who has sinned *after* his good deed; he does not continue to sin and do good at the same time; because God would not love the work of such a man to reward it.

VII. *Whether good works, which are done by evil men, avail for the winning of life, when the doers are converted to good.*

Moreover this view may be accepted of the good works which are done by a man while he is evil, and persists in mortal sin either for a time, or to the end; which works are said to be rewarded by God and not given over to oblivion, not that they secure life eternal, but help towards a more endurable punishment in judgment; as Augustine says of faith and other virtues which are possessed without charity[2]: "If anyone has not the charity which comes from the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace, by which the Church is joined together, but belongs to some schism, and rather than deny Christ, suffers tribulations, hunger, persecution, or fire, or beasts, or even the cross, in fear of hell; his conduct is not to be blamed in any way, but on the contrary his patience is to be praised. For we cannot say that it would have been better for him by denying Christ, to suffer none of these pains which he has suffered by confessing

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[1] Heb. 6, 1.—This whole explanation from Gratian, C. *Inter mittentes* (19.), de Poenitentia d. 4.

[2] Lib. de Patientia, c. 26. n. 23; C. *Si quis autem* (49.), ibid. d. 3. See Eph. 4, 3. and below I. Cor. 13, 3.

him; but we ought to think that the future judgment may perhaps be more tolerable for him, than if by denying Christ, he had suffered no pains as the saying of the Apostle: 'If I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing'; is understood to mean that it profits nothing for attaining the kingdom, only for receiving a more tolerable punishment at the last judgment." And below[1]: "This is said for the sake of charity, without which there cannot be any true penance[2] in us; because in good men there is the charity of God which endures all things."

From these statements it is clear that good works which are done without charity profit at least for securing a more tolerable punishment, but not for obtaining life. For Ezekiel[3] says that those deeds which a man does in charity, if he falls afterwards and does not rise, are not in the memory of God: "If the just man shall turn away from his justice and shall recommit iniquity, shall he live? All his justices which he has done, shall not be remembered; he shall die in his sin; and the righteousness which he did shall not be had in remembrance." In his exposition of this passage, Gregory says: "These words are to be especially considered by us, because when we commit evil deeds, we recall to memory without cause the good deeds we have accomplished, whereas during the perpetration of evil deeds there ought to be no confidence reposed in past good deeds."—This saying must be interpreted that past good deeds do not give us assurance of receiving life, even if they do of milder punishment; otherwise it would oppose the preceding authoritative statement of Augustine. And therefore good deeds done without charity, and good deeds done in charity, but attended by mortal guilt, which subsequent penance does not blot out, serve to win a milder punishment, not the fruit of life.

I think a sufficient reply has been made to those who assert that penance may be done and pardon given for one offence, when another is still delighted in or not revealed by confession; they are confuted not only by previously cited authorities, but also by those

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[1] Ibid. c. 23. n. 20, and can. cit. §1. In Augustine, the word is *patientia*, not *poenitentia*.

[2] Poenitentia.

[3] Ezek. 3, 20, cf. 33, 13; the exposition of Gregory is I. super Ezech. h nil. 11. n. 21; C. *Si averterit* (15.) and C. *Hoc nobis* (16.), ibid. d. 4.

quoted below. For Augustine says[1]: "There are many who repent of their sin, but still reserve for themselves some sins in which they delight; not understanding that the Lord freed the dumb and deaf man once for all from his demon, teaching by this that we are never healed, unless of everything. For if he wished sins to be retained in part by the woman who had seven devils, he could have benefited him by casting out six and letting one remain. But he expelled seven, so as to teach that all offences should be cast out at once. Indeed when he cast out a legion of demons from another, he left not one of them all, to possess the freed man showing that even if our sins are a thousand, it is necessary to repent of them all. The Lord never healed anyone, whom he did not release wholly. For he healed the whole man on the Sabbath, because he freed both the body from all infirmity and the soul from all contagion; indicating that the penitent ought to grieve for all his sins at once. For I know that the Lord is an enemy to every wicked man. How therefore shall a man who reserves one sin, receive pardon for another? Without the love of God he would get pardon, but without it no one ever finds grace. For he is an enemy of God, while he perseveres in offending. For it is a sort of impiety and infidelity, to expect a half pardon from him who is just and justice itself; since then he would find grace without true penance. For true penance tends to lead the man who confesses to the purity of baptism. Since, if he is rightly penitent, any uncleanness he has contracted after the purification of baptism he must wash away at least with the tears of his mind; but he is hard enough whose eyes do not declare the grief of his heart. But let him know himself culpably hard, who weeps over the injuries of time, or the death of a friend, and does not show his grief for sin in tears. Who therefore repents, let him repent wholly." The same[2]: "Penitents, if truly you are penitents, and not mockers, change your life, be reconciled to God! You do penance, you bow your knees, and laugh: you mock the patience of God. If you do penance, repent; if you do not repent you are not penitent. If then you repent, why do you do the

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[1] De vera et falsa Poenitentia (among Augustine's works), c. 9. n. 24; C. *Sunt plures* (42.), de Poenitentia d. 3. §1. See Mark 7, 32; Lk. 8, 30; Mark 5, 9; John 7, 23.

[2] Sermo 393. (alias 41 in the 50 Homil.) n. 1; C. *Poenitentes* (10.), ibid.

things you have wrongly done? If you repent of having done them, refuse to do them; if you still do them, certainly you are not penitent." Also Innocent II[1]: "We admonish our brothers, lest they suffer the souls of the laity to be deceived by false penances, and to be dragged into hell. And it is known to be false penance, when many sins are overlooked and penance is done for one alone; or when penance is done for one, and another is not abandoned."

From the foregoing is gained a clear knowledge of true penance or satisfaction. For this is true penance which abolishes sin; and this alone does it, which corrects the wrong; and this corrects the wrong which causes hatred of the offence committed and of committing it, together with desire to make satisfaction. For Judas is said to have done penance, without gaining pardon, because by such penance he did not correct the offence. Wherefore Jerome[2]: "His late penance did not profit Judas anything for by it he could not correct the crime as when a brother sins against a brother, so that he can amend his sin, it can be forgiven him; but if his work remains, penance is expressed by word in vain; this it is which is said of that most unhappy man: 'And may his prayer be turned into sin'; so that not only was he unable to amend the sin of treachery, but he added the crime of slaying himself."—Take care how you understand this phrase: "That he can amend his sin," etc. For amendment is not to be understood here as a recompense for something taken, but as remorse and abomination for sin, with desire of satisfaction. For if a man takes away unjustly from another what he cannot restore, as an eye, or life or the like, and yet if he does penance for the sin, with longing for worthy satisfaction, he has pardon. Nor should anyone therefore think that he who has unjustly taken away another's goods which he can return, does penance for his sin and obtains pardon, unless he restores what he took away. "For as long as the object for whose sake the sin was committed is not returned, if it can be returned, penance is not done, but feigned." [3]

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[1] Can. Fratres nostros (8.), de Poenitentia d. 5.

[2] Lib. IV. Comment. in Matt. (27, 5.); C. *Nihil Judae* (38.), de Poenitentia d. 3. See Ps. 108, 7.

[3] August., Ep. 153. (alias 54.) ad Macedonium, c. 6. n. 20; C. *Si res aliena* 1), C. 14. q. 6.

Distinction XVI

part I

I. *Of the three things which must be considered in penance, that is, compunction, confession, satisfaction.*

Moreover in the perfection of penance three steps are to be observed, that is compunction of the heart, confession of the mouth, satisfaction in deed. Wherefore John the golden-mouthed[1]: "Perfect penance compels the sinner to bear all things cheerfully; in his heart contrition, in his mouth, confession, in deed all humility. This is fruitful penance; that just as we offend God in three ways, that is, with the heart, the mouth, and the deed, so in three ways we make satisfaction." For there are three different sins, as Augustine says,[2] "of the heart, and of deed, and of habit or word, as it were three deaths: one as if in the home; that is, when there is consent to lust in the heart; another as if carried next outside the door, when assent proceeds to deed; the third when the soul is oppressed by force of evil habit as by a weight, or armed with the shield of guilty defence, as if already decaying in the grave. These are the three kinds of dead men whom the Lord is said to have raised." To this triple death is supplied a triple remedy: contrition, confession, satisfaction. Compunction is commended to us here[3]: "Rend your hearts, and not your garments," confession here: "The just man is first accuser of himself"; for truly he confesses who accuses himself, who imputes evil to himself by execration. And here: "Pour out your hearts in his presence." And again: "Confess your sins one to another."

II. *What true satisfaction is.*

Satisfaction is commanded by John[4], where he says, "Bring

[1] ("Chrysostom.") Can. *Perfecta poenitentia* (8.), de Poenitentia dist. 3.

[2] Lib. I. de Serm. Domini in monte, c. 12. n. 37, and C. *Sicut tribus* (21.), ibid. dist. 2. See Matt. 9, 25; Luke 7, 14; John 11, 43.

[3] Joel 2, 13; following passage is Prov. 18, 17; third, Ps. 61, 9; fourth, James 5, 16.

[4] Matt. 3, 8; Luke 3, 8.—Following passage is in the Glossa on this passage, cf. Gregory, I. Homil. in Evang., homil. 20. n. 8.

forth fruits worthy of penance," that is, that according to the quality and quantity of the guilt should be the quality and quantity of the punishment. "For the fruit of good work ought not be the same for him who has sinned not at all, or to a slight degree, and for him who has fallen grievously."—Therefore discretion for the penitent is very necessary, that he may do what Augustine teaches, saying[1]: "Let a man consider the quality of his offence, in place, in time, in persistence, or in change of the person, and under how much temptation he has done it, and how repeatedly he has committed the sin itself. For it is necessary that a fornicator repent according to the excellence of his position or of his office, and according to the kind of prostitute, and according to the manner of his deed; and the way in which he committed his baseness: whether in a sacred place, or in a time appointed for prayer, as there are festivities and times of fasting. Let him consider how long he has persisted, and let him weep because he has sinned persistently, and let him remember by how strong an attack he was conquered—for there are those who not only are not conquered, but of their own accord offer themselves to sin nor do they await temptation, but go to seek the pleasure.—And let him ponder within himself how he sinned with delight in the repeated doing of sin. All these various things are to be confessed and wept over, so that when the man has recognized what his sin is, he may soon find God propitious to him. In estimating the enormity of his sin, let him consider of what age he was, of what wisdom and rank. Let him dwell upon these details, and let him realize the nature of his offence, purging away with his tears the whole quality of his wrong-doing; let him weep over the virtue which in the meanwhile he has lacked. For he must grieve not only that he has sinned, but that he has deprived himself of virtue. Let him weep also since "offending in one, he is made guilty of all." [2] For he has shown himself unthankful, who full of virtue has not honored God at all. For a man becomes the more guilty sinner in just so far as he is the more acceptable to God; for this reason Adam sinned the more because he abounded in every good thing. In another way the

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[1] (Among his works) de vera et falsa Poenitentia c. 14. n. 29; C. *Consideret* (1.), ibid. d. 5.

[2] James 2, 10. Following passage from Lib. de Vera et falsa Poen. c. 15. n. 30. 31, and can. cit.

offender in one point becomes guilty of all, because every virtue suffers detriment from one offence. "Let him put himself wholly in the judgment and power of the priest, reserving nothing of his own to himself, so that he may be ready to do everything at the priest's order to secure the life of the soul, which he would do to shun the death of the body; and this with desire, because he is regaining eternal life. For he who will be immortal ought to do with happiness what one on the point of death would do to postpone death: always let him pray to God, let him offer God his mind and the contrition of his heart, and next let him give what he is able of his possessions; and then whatever he offers, he offers it without fear. 'The Lord had respect to Abel, and to his gifts'[1]; it says 'to Abel' before 'to his gifts.' Therefore with judgment of the heart are the alms of the giver to be weighed; nor should we consider how much, but with what intention, with what affection he gives what he is able. He therefore who wishes to redeem his sins by an oblation of temporal goods, let him first offer his heart. Let him take care also lest he be led by a natural feeling of shame, and divide up his confession in his own mind, so that he chooses to reveal different things to different priests. For some conceal from one priest what they keep to reveal to another; but this is to praise themselves, and to tend to hypocrisy and always to be in want of the pardon, to which they think they may attain by bits. Let him beware also lest he come to the Lord's body before he is comforted with a good conscience; and let him grieve, because he does not yet dare to receive the food of salvation, which he much desires. Also let him abstain from games, from the spectacles of the world, who wishes to attain the perfect grace of remission. These are worthy fruits of penance, unbinding the captive soul, and preserving it in liberty." And further[2]: "Let the soul seek worthy fruits, even if not worthy of penance. For there are worthy fruits of virtues which do not suffice for penitents. For penance demands harder ones, that with grief and groans, it may obtain life for the dead."—From these passages we are shown what are the fruits worthy of penance, by which true satisfaction is procured, also that not all worthy fruits are fruits worthy of penance; which last is to be understood of that penance, which belongs to

[1] Gen. 4, 4.
[2] Loc. cit.

greater offences. For what suffices for men who sin not at all or little, does not suffice for the grievously delinquent.

III. *What false satisfaction is.*

And just as there are fruits worthy of penance, and true satisfaction, so also there are unworthy fruits, and false satisfaction, that is, false penance. Wherefore Gregory[1]: "We speak of false penances, which are not imposed according to the instructions of the saints in keeping with the quality of the offences. Therefore a soldier, or a money-lender, or a man assigned to some office, which he cannot fill without sin, if snared in grievous faults he comes to penance, or a man who holds the goods of another unjustly, or who bears hate in his heart, let him recognize that he cannot accomplish true penance, unless he relinquishes his business, or abandons his office, and drives hate out of his heart, and restores the goods which he has unjustly taken away. Yet let him not despair; in the meanwhile we urge him to do anything good he can do, so that God may illuminate his heart unto penance." Whereas there is inner and outer penance, it appears sufficiently from what has already been said, what is true and what is false for both of them.

PART II

IV. *Of the three acts of penance.*

But to the foregoing we must add that penance is done in three ways: namely, before baptism, for previous sins; after baptism, for more grievous sins which are committed later; also there is daily penance for venial sins, which is the practice of humble men and perfect. Wherefore Augustine[2]: "There are three acts of penance, which your learning recognizes with me. There is one which produces a new man, when all previous sins are washed away by baptism; because no one who is master of his own will can begin a new life, unless he repents of his old life; from which rule children are

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[1] Gregor. VII., Concil. Rom. V. n. 5; c. *Falsas poenitentias* (6.), ibid. d. 5.

[2] Sermo 351. (alias 50. inter 50 Homil.) c. 2. n. 2; C. *Tres sunt* (81.), ibid. d. 1. Following passage, ibid. c. 4. n. 7, and in the same canon; third, August., Ep. 265. (alias 108.), ad Seleucianum, n. 7; C. *Agunt homines* (97.), de Consecrat. d. 4. (See Acts 2. 38.)

except when they are baptized, because they are not yet able to use free will, and for them the faith of those by whom they are offered is of value to the remission of original sin." "Another act of penance is after baptism, and is performed for those sins, which the decalogue of the Law enumerates. Therefore men do penance before baptism, for earlier sins, so that they may also be baptized, as Peter says: 'Do penance,' and 'let everyone of you be baptized in the name of the Lord,' etc. They also do penance, if after baptism they have so sinned, that they deserve to be excommunicated and afterwards reconciled." "There is also the penance which is the daily penalty of good and humble believers in which we beat our breasts, saying: 'Forgive us our debts,' etc. Nor do we wish the debts forgiven us which we believe were forgiven us in baptism." [1]

V. *Of a multitude of venial sins, which oppress us like one great sin.*

"But those sins which creep on human frailty, small indeed, yet numerous, which if they were collected against us, would grieve and oppress us like some one great sin. For what difference does it make in a shipwreck whether the ship is swamped and overwhelmed by one great wave, or whether little by little the water steals into the hold through the fault of negligent seamen and fills the ship and it is sunk? Therefore let fasting and almsgiving and prayers keep watch for us, in which when we say: 'Forgive us our debts,' etc., we show that we have what is to be forgiven us; and let us humiliate our souls by these words, and not cease to do penance daily."

VI. *Of the satisfaction for venial sins.*

What moreover is sufficient satisfaction for venial sins, Augustine indicates, saying in the Enchiridion[2]: "For daily and brief and trivial sins, without which we do not live, the daily prayer of the faithful makes satisfaction. For it is theirs to say: 'Our Father who art in heaven,' etc. This prayer wholly wipes out small and daily sins; and it effaces those faults, by which the life of the faithful is made wicked, so by doing penance it becomes transformed into a better. Thus we truly say: 'Forgive us our debts,' so also may we

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[1] Ibid. n. 8; C. *Tres sunt*, supra cit., which extends into the following chapter, the proposition being interrupted by the chapter divisions.

[2] Cap. 71. n. 19; C. *De quotidianis* (20.), de Poen.

truly say: 'as also we forgive our debtors,' that is, be it done, as we have said; because almsgiving itself for those who seek pardon is to forgive wholly."—From these and other passages quoted it is now easy to understand what satisfaction is to be made for venial sins. For the Lord's prayer with fasting and alms suffices, on condition however that some little contrition precedes and that confession be made also if opportunity offer; of this confession we shall treat later.[1] But for more grievous sins these means are also to be used in making satisfaction, but much more vehemently and strictly, because, as Augustine says,[2] to do penance "it is not sufficient to change the character into a better, and to depart from evils done, unless for the wrongs which have been done, the man satisfies the Lord by the grief of penance, the groan of humility, the sacrifice of a contrite heart, with the aid of alms."

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[1] Dist. XVII.

[2] Sermo. 351 (alias 50 inter 50 homil.) c. 5. n. 12.

Distinction XVII

PART I

I. *Whether sins are forgiven without confession.*

Here arises a question that has many parts. For first we are asked whether without satisfaction and confession of the mouth, by contrition of the heart only, sin may be forgiven anyone. Secondly, whether it suffices for anyone to confess to God without a priest. Thirdly, whether confession made to a faithful layman would be valid.—On these points even the learned are found to think differently, because the doctors seem to have taught varied and almost contradictory views about them. For some say, that without confession of the mouth and satisfaction of deed no one is cleansed from sin, if he has time for doing these things.—But others say, that before confession of the mouth and satisfaction through the contrition of the heart sin is forgiven by God, if however the sinner has the desire to confess. Wherefore the Prophet[1]: "I have said, I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord, and thou hast remitted," etc. Which Cassiodorus[2] explains saying: " 'I have said,' that is, I have determined within myself, that 'I would confess, and thou hast remitted it.' Great pity of God, who hast remitted the sin for the mere promise! For the promise is accepted for the deed." Also Augustine[3]: "Not yet does he make it known, but he promises that he will make it known; and the Lord remits it, because to say just this is to make something known in the heart. Not yet is the voice in the mouth, so that a man may hear the confession, and God hears." Also: "The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit, a contrite heart," etc. Elsewhere also we read: "At whatever hour a sinner turns and laments, he shall live in life and shall not die"; it does not say: he confesses with his mouth, but "turns, laments." "Wherefore we are

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[1] Ps. 31, 5.—On these two opinions, cf. Hugh, II. de Sacram. p. 14, c. 8, and Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 11; also Gratian, Introductio de Poenit. d. 1.

[2] Ps. 31, 7.

[3] In Ps. 31. enarrat. 2. n. 15, and C. *Magna pietas* (5.), de Poenit. d. 1.—See Ps. 50, 19, and Ezek. 18, 17.

given to understand, that even though the mouth be silent, we may sometimes obtain pardon. Hence those lepers also whom the Lord commanded to show themselves to the priests, were cleansed on the way, before they reached the priests. By this it is indicated that before we open our mouths to the priests, that is confess our sins, we are cleansed from the leprosy of sin. Lazarus also was not first led out of the tomb and afterward awakened by the Lord, but was awakened within and came forth alive; that the awakening of the spirit might be shown to precede confession. For no one can confess, unless aroused, because confession by one dead, as by one who is not, does not exist: therefore no one confesses, unless aroused. But no one is aroused, except he who is absolved from sin; because sin is the death of the soul, and as the soul is the life of the body, so its own life is God." [1]—From these and many other authorities it is proved that before confession or satisfaction sin is forgiven upon contrition alone; and those who deny it, find it hard to explain these authorities; and they introduce the testimony of other authors for the overthrow of this opinion and the support of their own. For the Lord says through Isaiah[2]: "Tell thou thy iniquities that thou mayest be justified." Also Ambrose[3]: "No man can be justified from sin unless he has first confessed the sin itself." He also says[4]: "Confession frees the soul from death, confession opens paradise, confession gives the hope of salvation, because he does not deserve to be justified who is not willing to confess his sin in his life-time. Confession frees us, which is done with penance. But penance is the grief of the heart and the bitterness of the soul for the evils which each one has committed." Also John[5]: "No man can receive the grace of God unless he has been purified of all sin by the confession of penance and by baptism." Also Augustine[6]: "Do penance, as it is done in the Church. Let no one say to himself: I do it secretly, because I do it before God; God knows, who has pardoned me,

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[1] Gratian, C. *Convertimini ad me* (34.), ibid.; see Luke 17, 14; John 11, 44; Ecclus. 17, 26.—On the life of the soul, cf. Augustine, in Ps. 70. enarrat. 2. n. 3.

[2] Is. 43, 26.

[3] De Paradiso, c. 14. n. 71; C. *Non potest* (38.), ibid.

[4] Serm. 25. de s. Quadragesima, n. 1; C. *Ecce nunc tempus* (39.), ibid.

[5] (Chromatius?) C. *Non potest quis* (41.), ibid.

[6] Serm. 392. (alias homil. 49. inter Homil. 50) c. 3. n. 3; C. *Agite poenitentiam* (44.), ibid. See Matt. 18, 18; John 20, 23; Job 31, 33.

because I do it in my heart. Then without cause was it said: 'What thou loosest on earth, shall be loosed in heaven'? Then without cause 'were the keys given'? Then we make vain the word of Christ. Job says: 'If I have blushed to confess my sins in the sight of the people'!" Also Ambrose[1]: "The guilt is venial, which is followed by confession of sins." Also Augustine[2] on this passage of the psalm: "Let not the deep swallow me up, and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me," says: "The pit is the depth of iniquity into which if thou hast fallen, *its mouth* shall not close upon thee, if thou dost not close *thy mouth*. Confess therefore and say: 'Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, oh Lord,' etc., and thou shalt escape. It closes upon him, who has despised it in the depth, from whom in death, just as from one who is not, there can be no confession." Also[3]: "No one receives pardon for a more grievous debt of penalty, unless he has paid some kind of penalty, even if much less than he owes. For so the liberality of mercy is granted us by God, that the justice of discipline be not neglected." Also Jerome[4]: "Let him who is a sinner, lament his own sins or those of the people, and let him enter the church, from which he had wandered on account of sin, and let him sleep in sackcloth, that he may compensate by austerity of life for the earlier pleasures by which he offended God."—By these and other authorities they endeavor to prove that without oral confession and some payment of penalty, no one can be cleansed from sin.

What therefore is to be thought about these things? What believed? It can certainly be said that without confession of the mouth and payment of the outward penalty sins are effaced by contrition and humility of heart. For from the moment anyone proposes to confess, being pricked in conscience, God forgives; because there is there the confession of the heart, though not of the mouth, by which the soul is cleansed within from the stain and contagion of committed sin, and the debt of eternal death is relaxed. Therefore that which was said above regarding confession and penance, should be referred

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[1] Lib. de Paradiso, c. 14. n. 71; C. *Serpens* (47.), ibid.

[2] Enarrat. in Ps. 68, 16. serm. 1. n. 19; Gratian, C. *Voluissent iniqui* (60.), ibid. §3. See Ps. 129, 1; Prov. 18, 3; Ecclus. 17, 26.

[3] De Continentia, c. 6. n. 15; C. *Nullus debitae* (42.), ibid.

[4] Comment. in Ioel. 1, 13; C. *Qui sanctus* (66.), ibid. For the last proposition and following cf. Gratian, C. *Quis aliquando* (87.), ibid. §14.

either to the confession of the heart, or to inward punishment—just as this saying of Augustine, "that no one obtains pardon, unless first he has paid some small penalty for his sin"—must be understood of the external penalty, and applied to the scornful or negligent, just as this: "Let no one say, I do it secretly," etc. For some neglect to confess sins in their lifetime or are ashamed to do it, and therefore do not deserve to be justified. For just as inward penance is enjoined upon us, so also confession of the mouth, and outward satisfaction, if we have the opportunity. Wherefore he is not truly penitent who does not have the desire to confess. And just as remission of sin is the gift of God, so penance and confession by which sin is wiped out, cannot take place save from God, as Augustine says[1]: "Now, he says, he has the gift of the holy Spirit, who confesses and repents, because there cannot be confession of sin and compunction in man of himself. For when anyone is angry at himself and dissatisfied with himself, it is not without the gift of the holy Spirit." Therefore a penitent ought to confess his sins, if he have time; and yet before confession of the mouth, if there is the promise in the heart, forgiveness is extended to him.

PART II

II. *Whether it suffices to confess to God alone.*

Now let us look into the second division of the question, that is, whether it suffices to confess sins to God alone, or whether it is necessary to confess to a priest.—To some it seems to suffice, if confession is made to God alone without the judgment of the priest and confession of the Church, because David said[2]: "I said, I will confess to the Lord, and thou hast remitted," etc.; he does not say "to the priest," and yet he says the sin is forgiven him. Also Ambrose[3]: "Peter wept, because his guilt had come suddenly upon him; I do not find what he said, I find that he wept. I read of his tears, I do not read of his satisfaction. But what cannot be defended, can be washed away. Tears wash away a sin, which one is ashamed to confess with the voice. Weeping brings about both pardon and a

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[1] Enarrat. in Ps. 50. n. 16.

[2] Ps. 31, 5.

[3] X. Exposit. Evang. sec. Lucam, n. 88; C. *Petrus doluit* (1.), ibid. d. 1.

natural feeling of shame." Bishop Maximus[1] says the same also; likewise John Chrysostom[2]: "I do not say to you that you should betray yourself in public, nor accuse yourself among others, but I wish that you would obey the Prophet when he says: 'Reveal thy life to God.' Before God therefore confess your sins, before a true judge with prayer, declare your guilt not with your tongue but in the memory of your conscience; and then at last hope that you may obtain pity. If you have your sins continually in mind, you will never harbor evil against your neighbor in your heart." Also[3]: "Tell your sins, that you may efface them. But if you are ashamed to tell them to anyone, tell them daily in your spirit; I do not say, that you should confess to your fellow-servant, so that he might reproach you; tell them to God, who cures them. For even if you do not tell them to him, he is not ignorant of them: when you did them, he was present; when you committed them, he knew. Then why does he wish to learn them from you? You have not blushed to sin, and do you blush to confess? Tell them in this life, that in another you may have rest; tell them with groaning and weeping. Your sins are written in the book. Let the sponges of your sins be your tears." Likewise Prosper[4]: "If those, whose sins are concealed from human notice, not confessed by themselves, nor published by others, refuse to confess or amend them, they will have as avenger the God whom they have as witness. But if they become judges of themselves, and as it were avengers of their own iniquity, let them inflict on themselves a voluntary penalty of the severest punishment; they will exchange eternal punishment for temporal penalties and with tears flowing from true contrition of heart they shall extinguish the burnings of eternal fire." And below[5]: "They will more easily reconcile God to themselves, who either by their own confessions make known their offence or if others are ignorant, pronounce against themselves a sentence of voluntary excommunication and separated, not in spirit but in office, from the altar to which they have ministered, they mourn their life as dead; certain that being reconciled to themselves

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[1] Homil. 53.

[2] Homil. 31. in Epist. ad Hebr. n. 3; cf. Gratian, C. *Quis aliquando* (87.), ibid. §1. See Ps. 36, 5.

[3] Homil. 2. in Ps. 50. n. 5. (among his spurious works.)

[4] Lib. II. de Vita contemplat. c. 7. n. 2; C. *Porro illi* (31.), ibid.

[5] Ibid. n. 3; C. *Facilius* (32.), ibid.

by the efficacious fruits of penance, they will receive from God not only what they have lost, but also the joys of the heavenly city."—On these authorities do they depend who maintain that it suffices to confess one's sins to God without a priest. For they say that if anyone fears to disclose his guilt among men, lest he be held in opprobrium therefor, or lest others might resort to sin by his example, and therefore is silent to man, and reveals everything to God; he will obtain pardon.

III. *That it does not suffice to confess to God alone, if time allows, provided it is possible to confess to a man.*

But that it is necessary to confess to priests, is proved not only on the authority of James[1]: "Confess your sins to one another," etc., but also by the testimonies of many others. For Augustine says[2]: "Let a man of his own will judge himself while he is able, and let him change his ways to better, lest when he no longer is able, he be judged without his will by the Lord; and when he has pronounced upon himself a sentence of the severest but the most profitable medicine, let him come to the priests by whom the power of the keys of the Church is exercised. Just as one beginning to be a good son should observe the order of his mother's members, and accept the manner of his satisfaction from those placed in command of sacred things, offering the sacrifice of a contrite heart devoutly and humbly. Let him however do that which not only benefits him for salvation, but serves also for an example to others; so that if his sin is not only a grievous evil for him, but also a great stumbling-block for others, and it seems to the priest expedient for the Church, let him not refuse to do penance to the knowledge of many or of the whole people, lest through shame he inflame the deadly wound." "When[3] the wound of sin and the power of the disease are so great, that the medicaments of the body and blood of the Lord must be postponed according to the authority of the priest, each one ought to withdraw from the altar to do penance, and then to be reconciled by the same

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[1] James 5, 16.

[2] Sermo 351. (alias the last among the 50 Homil.) c. 4. n. 9; C. *Iudicet* (85.), ibid.

[3] Augustine, Ep. 54. (alias 118. ad Januar.) c. 3. n. 4; C. *In actione* (84.), ibid.

authority." Also Pope Leo[1]: "The manifold love of God succors human beings who have fallen, so that they regain their hope of life not only by baptism, but also by penance, since the helps of the divine will have been so ordained, that sinners cannot obtain the indulgence of God save through the supplications of priests. For Christ gave this power to those set over the Church, that they might give the satisfaction of penance to those who confessed, and when they had been purged by saving satisfaction, they might admit them to the communion of the sacraments through the door of reconciliation." Also Augustine[2]: "Let him who repents, repent wholly, and let him show his grief with tears; let him present his life to God through the priest, let him anticipate the judgment of God by confession. For the Lord gave command to those who needed to be cleansed, that they show themselves to the priests, teaching thus that sins must be confessed by bodily presence, not set down in writing." For he said: Also all of you show yourselves; not one for all, not one as a messenger of the others, to offer for you to God the gift appointed by Moses; but you who have sinned yourselves, have shame for yourselves. For shame itself is part of the remission. For out of pity the Lord commanded that no one should repent in secret. For from the fact that he speaks for himself to the priest, and conquers his shame, through the fear of God's anger results the pardon of his sin. For it is made venial by confession which was criminal in the performance, and if it is not purged at once, it is nevertheless made venial, which was mortal when he committed it. For he has offered much satisfaction who ruled his shame and denied to the messenger of God nothing of those things which he had committed. For God who is merciful and just, just as he preserves mercy in justice, so also preserves justice in mercy. For the work of mercy is to forgive the sins of the sinner; but it is necessary that the just one show mercy justly. For he considers if the sinner is worthy, I do not say, of *justice,* but even of *mercy;* for justice alone condemns, but he deserves mercy who seeks grace by spiritual labor. For the mind labors when it suffers shame; and since a feeling of shame is great punishment, he who is ashamed for

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[1] Ep. 108. (alias 83. ad Theodor. Foroiul. episc.) c. 2; C. *Multiplex.* (49.), ibid.

[2] De vera et falsa Poenitentia (spurious), c. 10. n. 25; C. *Quem poenitet* (88.), ibid. See Luke 17, 14 and Levit. 14, 4.

the sake of Christ becomes worthy of mercy. Wherefore it is clear that to the more persons one confesses the baseness of his offence, the more easily does one gain the grace of remission. For the priests themselves are able to accomplish more and spare those who confess more." Also Pope Leo[1]: "Although a fullness of faith seems to be laudable, which through fear of God does not fear to be ashamed before men; yet—because everyone's sins are not of such a kind that those which demand penance may be freely published,—let the unwise custom be abolished, lest many be kept from the remedies of penance, because they are either ashamed or afraid to reveal their deeds to their enemies, by whom they may be ruined through the provisions of the laws. For confession suffices, which is first offered to God, and then to the priest, who acts as intercessor for the sins of the penitents. For many can be incited to penance, if the conscience of the one who confesses is not published to the ears of the people."—By these and many other statements we are shown beyond a doubt that it is necessary that confession be offered first to God, and then to the priest; nor can the sinner otherwise approach the entrance of paradise, if he had an opportunity to confess.

PART III

IV. *Whether it suffices to confess to a layman.*

Now before we cite in reply to the authorities previously quoted those which seem to contradict them, let us consider the third question. For the content of the second question, that is, whether it would suffice to confess to God alone without the confession and judgment of the priest, has been considered, and it has been established by the testimonies quoted, that it does not suffice to confess to God without the priest, nor is the sinner truly humble and penitent, if he does not desire and seek the judgment of the priest. But is it of equal value for any one to confess to a companion or to a neighbor, at least when the priest is away?—Certainly it can be said on this point that the examination of a priest should be zealously sought, because God has granted to priests the power of binding and loosing. And therefore those whom they forgive

[1] Ep. 168. (alias 136. ad univers. episc. per Campaniam) c. 2; C. *Quamvis plenitudo fidei* (89.), ibid.

God also forgives. If however a priest is lacking, confession is to be made to a neighbor or companion. But let each one take care to seek a priest, who knows how to bind and loose. For he ought to be that, who judges the offences of others. Wherefore Augustine[1]: "Let him who wishes to confess his sins in order to obtain pardon, see a priest who knows how to bind and loose, lest, if he be negligent about himself, he be neglected by him who with mercy warns and seeks him, and then both fall into the snare, which in his folly he refused to shun. So great is the power of confession that if the priest is away, he should confess to his neighbor. For it often happens that the penitent cannot humble himself in the presence of a priest, whom the time and place fail to supply when he desires him. But although he confesses to one who has not the power of loosing, he becomes worthy of pardon from his desire for a priest, when he confesses his sin to his companion. For the lepers were cleansed while they were going to show themselves or their faces to the priests, before they reached them. Wherefore it is clear that God looks within at the heart, when anyone is prevented by necessity from reaching the priests. Often persons who are well and happy, seek the priests, but while they are seeking and before they arrive, they die. But the mercy of God is everywhere, and knows how to spare the just, even if not so quickly, as if they were loosed by the priest." "And if the sin is secret, let it suffice to bring it to the knowledge of the priest. For at the raising of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue[2] few were present to witness it; for not yet had she been buried, not yet borne out of the door, not yet carried to public gaze outside the house. He raised her indoors, whom he found indoors, only Peter and James and John and the father and mother of the girl were left with him, and in them, are prefigured the priests of the Church. But observe how he raised those persons whom he found out of doors. For a crowd was weeping for the son of the widow, Martha and Mary wept praying for their brother, and the crowd that followed Mary also wept.

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[1] De vera et falsa Poenitentia, c. 10. n. 25; C. *Qui vult confiteri* (1), ibid. d. 6. See Matt. 15, 14; Luke 17, 14.

The next passage, ibid. c. 11. n. 26; cf. Gratian, C. *Quis aliquando* (87.), ibid. d. 1. §12.

[2] Matt. 9, 24; Mark 5, 37; Luke 7, 11; John 11, 33.—The following passage is in the same book, c. 12. n. 27; C. *Qui vult*, modo cit.

Whereby we are taught that for those who sin in public not their own but the Church's merit is sufficient." "Therefore let the penitent labor to be in the Church and to hold to the unity of the Church. For unless the unity of the Church succor him, unless it completes what the sinner lacks in his own prayer, his soul when he is dead will not be snatched from the enemy. For we must believe that all the prayers and alms of the Church and works of justice and mercy help him who recognizes his own death to his conversion. And therefore no one can worthily repent, whom the unity of the Church does not support; and therefore let no one seek priests separated by any guilt from the unity of the Church."—By these words the matter of the foregoing question is made clear and explained. A wise and discreet priest should be sought, who with power has at the same time judgment, and if by chance he is absent, confession should be made to a companion.—But Bede[1] distinguishes between confession of venial and of mortal sins, in his comment in this passage: "Confess your sins to one another." For he says: "Let us make known our daily and trivial sins to our equals, but the more serious to a priest, and let us take care to purge ourselves of them within the time he bids, because without confession for amendment, sins cannot be forgiven." But the more grievous sins are also to be made known to our equals, when the priest is away, and danger threatens. But venial sins, even when there is an abundance of priests, may be confessed to an equal, and it is sufficient, as some think, provided that the priest is not neglected from contempt. However it is safer and more perfect to make known sins of both kinds to the priests, and to seek the prescription of medicine from them, to whom is granted the power of binding and loosing.

V. *What value confession has.*

Since therefore from these and many other testimonies it is made clear and established beyond a doubt that sins are to be confessed first to God, next, to the priest, and if he is not available, to a companion; the words of John Chrysostom cited above, are not to be understood in the sense that it is allowable for anyone who has time, not to confess to a priest; but that it suffices where an

[1] In Iac. 5, 16, and in Glossa *interlinearis* on the same passage.

offence is secret, to tell it to God alone, through the priest and once only, nor is it necessary to publish what is secret in the presence of many; he indicated this when he said: "I do not say to you that you should denounce yourself in public." For just as a public wrong needs a public remedy, so also a secret wrong is purged by a secret confession and secret satisfaction. Nor need we confess again what we have once confessed to a priest; but with the tongue of the heart, not of the flesh, we should confess continually to the true judge. Wherefore John[1] also says: "Now if you remember your sins, and frequently tell them in the sight of God, and pray earnestly for their pardon, you will blot them out more quickly. But if you forget them, then you will remember them when you do not wish, when they are published and produced in the sight of all friends and enemies, and of the holy angels."—So also the passage from Ambrose: "Tears wash away the sin, which we are ashamed to confess with the voice," is to be referred to public penance. For he shows therein the virtue of tears and confession, and implies that hidden tears and secret confession, like that made to a priest alone, wash away the sin, which one is ashamed to confess publicly. But when he says he has read that the tears of Peter were not satisfaction or confession; by this he does not exclude what we have just said. For many things occurred, which are not written down, or perhaps the institution of confession had not yet been established[2], as it is now.—Likewise also this saying of Prosper: "If they are made their own judges, they will alter the eternal punishments"; and this: "They will please God more easily who either make known their offence by their own confessions, or if others are ignorant, pass sentence of excommunication upon themselves"; ought to be understood of public confession and satisfaction. For not to priests alone was the power of binding and loosing given, if each man may bind himself according to his own judgment by penance or sentence of excommunication, and without sacerdotal judgment reconcile himself to God and to the altar; a view which is wholly repugnant to ecclesiastical institution and custom. Therefore it is better if you sinned publicly to confess yourself guilty publicly, and make amends; but if you have offended in secret, even so you are not to be silent; nor yet do I say that you should proclaim

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[1] Homil. 31. in Ep. ad Hebr. n. 4; C. *Quis aliquando*, supra cit. §1.

[2] So Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 10.

it." For silence about sin is born of pride of heart. For it is for this reason that a man conceals his sin, lest he be reckoned generally what he has shown himself to be in the divine sight; a fear which springs from the fountain of pride. For the character of pride is that the man who is a sinner wishes to seem just; and a man is convicted of hypocrisy who like our first parents tries to lighten his sins by a subterfuge of words, or like Cain aims to suppress his sins by keeping silence. Where therefore pride reigns and hypocrisy, humility has no place; but without humility no one is allowed to hope for pardon. When therefore there is reticence in confession, there is no hope of pardon for the offence." [1]—Now certainly it is clear how detestable is silence concerning sin and conversely how necessary is confession. For confession is the witness of a conscience which fears God. For the man who fears the judgment of God will not be ashamed to confess his sin. Perfect fear casts out all shame; the confession of sin involves shame, and shame itself is a severe punishment. And therefore we are commanded to confess our sins that we may suffer shame as a punishment; for this itself is a part of the divine judgment.—If therefore we are asked whether confession is necessary, since by contrition sin is blotted out; we say that it is some punishment of sin, as is the satisfaction by deed. And through confession the priest knows how he ought to judge of the offence; through it, moreover, the sinner is made more humble and careful.

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[1] Gratian, C. *Quis aliquando*, supra cit. §15. See Gen. 3, 10; 4, 9. This opinion of the Master, at the end is obsolete. Cf. Bonaventura, d. 18. p. I. a. 2. q. 1.

Distinction XVIII

PART I

I. *Of the remission which the priest grants.*

Here we are generally asked if a sin is wholly forgiven by God, for contrition of the heart, at the time the penitent had the desire to confess, what is afterward forgiven by the priest. For I know with what chain the priest binds the sinner, that, namely, of temporal punishment, but not from what he absolves him. And on this account I ask. Certainly the soul has the stain of the deed and the noisomeness of the sin before the penance of the heart, and it is bound by the chain of eternal vengeance. But if before confession God himself for contrition of the heart, without the ministry of the priest, both remits the debt entirely and purges the soul from the contagion and noisomeness of the sin; what then does the priest cleanse, what does he remit? Where are those keys which the Lord gave to Peter and to his successors, saying[1]: "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven"? So that the aforesaid question may be explained more fully, just as the net was let down deeper, let us treat of these keys and their use.

II. *Of the keys.*

These keys are not corporeal, but spiritual, that is, "the knowledge of discerning and the power of judging," namely, of binding and loosing, by virtue of which the ecclesiastical judge "ought to receive the worthy and exclude the unworthy from the kingdom," and just as he has the power of binding, so he has that of loosing. Wherefore Ambrose[2]: "The Lord wished the power of loosing and of binding to be equal, and bestowed both on the same condition. Therefore he who has not the power of loosing does not have the

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[1] Matt. 16, 19. Below, see Luke 5, 4.

[2] Lib. I. de Poenitentia, c. 2. n. 7; some words from the Glossa of Bede, (in Lyranus), on the passage of Matthew cited above.

power of binding." And below[1]: "It is certain that God grants both to the Church, but heresy has not both; for this power is given to priests only. Therefore the Church rightly lays claim to it for herself, because she has true priests; heresy cannot lay claim to it, because it does not have true priests.

III. *Of the use of the keys.*

But there are several uses of these keys, first to distinguish those who must be bound or loosed, and then to bind or loose." For he who binds or looses those who do not deserve it, deprives himself of his own power," [2] that is, makes himself worthy of deprivation.

IV. *Whether a priest can remit or retain sins.*

But we are asked, whether a priest has the power to absolve from sin, that is, from guilt, so that he wipes away the stain of sin, and is able to remit the debt of eternal death.—Some have thought that when the sinner is held doubly bound, as we said before, namely by disease and blindness of the mind, and by the debt of future punishment, the one is cured by God, the other remitted by the priest. For a man suffers through sin a kind of interior darkness and stain and unless he is released from these, he will be cast into outer darkness[3]; but when he is freed from these, he is raised from the death of sin. Wherefore the Apostle[4]: "Rise thou who sleepest, and Christ will illumine thee." For Christ alone, not the priest, reawakens the soul, and when the interior darkness and stains have been banished, he illumines and cleanses it, and washes the face of the soul; but he has granted to priests the power to loose the debt of eternal punishment. This they assert was signified in the resurrection of Lazarus,[5] for Christ himself first brought him to life within the tomb, then commanded him to come forth, and bade the

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[1] Lib. cit., ibid. below; II. de Cain et Abel, c. 4. n. 15; C. *Verbum Dei* (51.), de Poenitentia, d. 1.

[2] Gregory, II. Homil. in Evang. homil. 26. n. 5.—The first opinion in the following passage is that of Hugh of St. Victor, II. de Sacram. p. XIV. c. 8. near the beginning, an attempt to refute the following opinion.

[3] Matt. 22, 13.

[4] Eph. 5, 14.

[5] John 11, 14.

apostles loose him who was still bound; because, as they say, he himself cleanses the soul within from the darkness and stain of sin, but has given to priests the power to loose the chain of eternal death.

But others say that only God, not the priest, remits the debt of eternal death, even as also he himself makes the spirit alive within; yet they do not deny that to priests was given the power of remitting and retaining sins, for to them he said: "Whose sins ye remit," [1] etc. For as Christ has retained to himself the power of baptism, so also of penance. And therefore just as he illumines the soul within by his grace, so also at the same time he remits the debt of eternal death. For he himself of himself covers the sins of penitents; and he covers them when he does not reserve them for punishment. Therefore he covers them when he loosens the debt of punishment. And that he himself does cover, Augustine clearly says in his explanation of this passage of the Psalm[2]: "Whose sins are covered," that is "covered wholly and effaced. For if God covered sins, he did not wish to observe them; if he did not wish to observe, he did not wish to mark them, that is punish them, but rather to pardon them. So therefore Augustine says they are 'covered by God,' that God may not see, that is, eternally punish." For God's seeing of sins is imputing of punishment. But to turn his face from sins, is not to reserve them for punishment. Also Jerome[3]: "When God remits anyone's sins, he covers them, lest they be revealed in the judgment." Also Cassiodorus[4]: "To some persons who have grievous sins, God imputes them, to others through mercy, he does not impute them."

From these citations it is clearly shown that God himself absolves the penitent from the debt of punishment, and absolves him when he illumines him within by inspiring true contrition of heart. This opinion is favored by reason and confirmed by the authorities. For no one is truly grieved by his sin, and has a contrite and humble heart, save in charity; and he who has charity is worthy of eternal life. But no one is worthy at the same time of life and of death: therefore he is not bound by the debt of eternal death. For he

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[1] John 20, 23.

[2] Ps. 31, 1; Enarrat. 2. n. 9; cf. Enarrat. in Ps. 50, n. 14, where the explanation of what follows is given.

[3] This is in the Glossa ad Ps. 31, 2.

[4] Ibid.

ceased to be a "son of wrath" from the time he began to love and do penance. Therefore from that time he was loosed from wrath, which does not remain on one who believes on Christ, but on one who does not believe. Accordingly he is not freed afterward from eternal wrath by the priest to whom he confesses, since he was already freed from it by the Lord, at the time he said: "I will confess." Therefore God alone cleanses a man inwardly from the stain of sin, and absolves him from the debt of eternal punishment: for he says through the Prophet[1]: "I alone blot out the iniquities and sins of the people." Also Ambrose[2]: "The word of God forgives sins, the priest is the judge. The priest indeed performs his office, but does not exercise rights of any power." The same[3]: "He alone forgives sins, who alone died for our sins." Also Augustine[4]: "No one takes away sins, save God alone, who is the Lamb that takes away the sins of the world. Now he takes them away both by remitting what have been committed, and by giving help so that they be not committed again and by leading to eternal life, where certainly they cannot be committed."—By these and many more testimonies we are shown that the Lord himself alone remits sin; and just as he remits the sin of some persons so also he retains the sins of some others.

V. *How priests remit sin, or retain it.*

We do not, however, deny that the power of remitting and retaining sins was conceded to priests, since the Truth clearly teaches this is the Gospel. Hence Augustine[5] says: "The charity of the Church which is poured out by the holy Spirit in the hearts of those who are sharers of it, remits sins; but it retains the sins of those who are not sharers of it." Also[6]: "Priests can spare those who confess: for unto whom they remit sins, God remits. For he gave Lazarus raised from the tomb to the Apostles to be loosed, showing by this

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[1] Is. 43, 25.

[2] II. de Cain et Abel c. 4. n. 15, but the words and opinion are somewhat different; C. *Verbum Dei* (51.), supra cit.

[3] Exposit. in Evang. Lucae. lib. VI. n. 109.

[4] I. de Peccator. merit. et remissione, gathered from cc. 23. 28. 39; C. *Nemo tollit* (141.), de Consecrat. d. 4.

[5] In Ioan. Evang. tract. 121. n. 4; C. *Ecclesiae* (140), ibid.

[6] De vera et falsa Poenitentia (spurious) c. 10. n. 25.

act that the power of loosing was granted to priests. For he said: 'Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven,' etc.; that is: 'I God, and the orders of all the heavenly court, and all of the saints in my glory, approve and confirm with you whom 'you bind and loose.' He did not say 'whom *you think* you bind and loose'; but 'on whom you exercise the work of justice or of mercy. Otherwise I do not recognize works of other kind performed by you for sinners.'" The same[1]: "When sins are remitted unto one who has truly turned to God, they are remitted by those to whom he is joined by true conversion. They are remitted by the holy Spirit, who is given to all saints cleaving to him in charity, whether they know him in the body or not. Likewise when anyone's sins are retained, they are retained by those from whom he is separated by the perverseness of his heart, whether known to him in the body or unknown." "For all the wicked are spiritually separated from the good." [2]—Behold, he says that sins are remitted, or retained by holy men, and yet he says the holy Spirit remits them. And, he also says something worthy of greater consideration, that God himself or through the saints only, remits them. For he says[3]: "God gives the *sacrament* of grace even through the wicked, but *grace* itself only through himself or his saints. And therefore he performs the remission of sins either himself or through the members of the dove to whom he says: 'If you forgive anyone, he shall be forgiven.'" [4]—See, what various opinions are taught by the doctors on these matters; and in such variety as this, which opinion is to be held? This we may certainly say and think, that God alone remits sins and retains them; and yet he has conferred upon the Church the power of binding and loosing, but he himself looses or binds in one way, the Church in another. For he remits sin through himself alone, for he both cleanses the soul from the inner stain and releases it from the debt of eternal death.

VI. *How priests bind or loose from sins.*

But he did not grant this power to priests although he did grant them the power of binding and loosing, that is, of *showing* that

[1] Aug., Lib. VI. de Baptismo contra Donatist. c. 4. n. 6.
[2] Ibid. c. 5. n. 7.
[3] Ibid. V. c. 21. n. 29; C. *Quomodo exaudit* (41.), de Consecrat. d. 4.
[4] John 20, 23.

men are bound or loosed—wherefore the Lord himself first restored the leper to health, and then sent him to the priests, by whose decision he was shown to be cleansed; so also after Lazarus was brought to life he gave him to the disciples to be loosed—because even if anyone is loosed by God, he is not on that account held to be loosed in the sight of the Church, except through the judgment of the priest. Therefore in loosing or retaining guilt, the priest of the Gospel so works and judges as the priest of the law in times past for those who were contaminated with leprosy, which signifies sin. Wherefore Jerome in his commentary on Matthew,[1] where the Lord says to Peter: "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven" [2]: "Some persons who do not understand this passage," he says, "assume something of the superciliousness of the Pharisees, so that they think they are to condemn the harmless and loose the harmful, when it is not the opinion of the priests, but the life of the doers, which is regarded by God. In Leviticus the lepers are commanded to show themselves to the priests, not that they *make* them lepers or clean, but that they *distinguish* who are clean or unclean; so also here."—It is here clearly shown that God does not always follow the judgment of the Church which judges sometimes dishonestly and ignorantly; but God always judges according to truth. And in remitting or retaining sins the priests of the Gospel have the power and office, which formerly the priests of the Law had under the Law in curing lepers. They therefore remit or retain sins, in so far as they judge and declare them to be remitted or retained by God. For the priests invoke "the name of he Lord on the sons of Israel, but he himself blesses," as we read in Numbers.[3] This way of binding and loosing Jerome indicated above.

Priests also bind when they impose the satisfaction of penance on those who confess; they loose when they remit any of the satisfaction, or admit persons purged by it to the communion of the sacraments, which method Pope Leo mentioned above.[4] In this way

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[1] Lib. III. c. 16. v. 19. See Levit. 14, 2.
[2] Matt. 16, 19.
[3] Numbers 6, 27.
[4] Dist. XVII. c. 3.

priests are also said to remit sins or to retain them. Wherefore Augustine said above[1]: "To whom they remit sins, God also remits," etc. For they perform the work of justice on sinners when they bind them by a just penalty; the work of mercy, when they relax any of it, or restore them to the communion of the sacraments; they cannot perform other works for sinners.—And it must be noted that those whom they bind by the satisfaction of penance, they show by that very act to be loosed from sins, because penitential satisfaction is not imposed on anyone unless the priest judges him truly penitent. But they do not impose it on others[2]; and by that they judge that the sin is retained by God. Now that this power belongs to the keys Augustine shows when he says: "He cheats the keys of the Church, who does penance without the judgment of the priest, if he prays for mercy for his offence without confession of the mouth."

PART II

And there is another way of binding and loosing, which is performed by excommunication, when anyone is called for the third time to amend a manifest sin according to the canonical discipline, and disdaining to make satisfaction, is cut off by sentence of the Church from the place of prayer, and the communion of the sacraments, and the fellowship of the faithful, so that he may blush and be converted by shame at his crime, and may be sorry and repent, and that thus "his soul may be saved."[3] Because if he returns to wisdom, avowing his penance, he is admitted to the communion, which had been denied him and is reconciled to the Church. And this is the anathema of the Church, it inflicts this penance on those who are rightfully chastised, that the grace of God and his protection are farther removed from them, and they are left to themselves, so as to be free to rush into the death of sin and a greater power of wreaking rage upon them is given to the devil. Likewise the prayers of the Church and the aids of its benedictions and merits are not thought to support them at all.

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[1] Above, c. 5.

[2] Serm. 392. (alias. homily 49 among 50 Homil.) c. 3. n. 3; Gratian, C. *Quis aliquando* (87.), de Poenit. d. 1.

[3] I. Cor. 5, 5.

VII. *How we are to understand this saying: "Whatsoever ye shall loose," etc.*

According to these ways of binding and loosing, how is that saying true: "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven?" For sometimes they declare loosed or bound those who are not so with God; and sometimes they bind by the penalty of satisfaction or of excommunication those who do not deserve it, or loose them, and admit the unworthy to the sacraments, and exclude those who are worthy to be admitted.—But the saying must be understood of those persons whose merits demand that they be loosed or bound. For then the opinion of the priest is approved and confirmed by the judgment of God and of the whole celestial court, since it proceeds from discretion so that the merits of the guilty do not contradict it. Whomsoever therefore they loose or bind, applying the key of discretion to the merits of the guilty, they are loosed or bound in heaven, that is, with God, because the opinion of the priest thus formed is approved and confirmed by divine judgment. Whom therefore the sentence of the Church condemns according to his deserts, it destroys; and the man is outside the Church in the sight of God.—But whoever has not earned it, is not destroyed by the sentence of the Church, unless he scorns it. Wherefore Origen[1]: "Anyone who departs from truth, from faith, from charity, thereby departs from the fortress of the Church, even if not cast out by the voice of the bishop, just as, on the contrary, no one is driven out by an unjust judgment; but if he did not so act that he deserved to go out, he is not hurt. For sometimes he who is driven out, is inside; and he who is outside, seems to remain within."—See of what kind and what extent is the use of the apostolic keys. Now it has been shown in part how the priests forgive sins or retain them, and yet how God has retained for himself a certain unique power of remitting or retaining sins, because he himself alone by himself looses the debt of eternal death, and purges the soul within.

VIII. *What the inner darkness and inner stains are.*

Here we are asked what these stains are and what this inner darkness, from which God cleanses the soul within, when he sends

[1] Homil. 14. in Levit. n. 3.

true penance.—As for the darkness and the inner gloom it is easy enough both to understand and to answer. For when anyone sins mortally, he is deprived of the grace of virtue, if he had previously possessed any, and he suffers the destruction of his natural good qualities. Wherefore also the intellect is dulled, and the whole inner man is darkened; and thus his mind is enveloped in a sort of obscurity, which is the punishment of sin. But this obscurity God dispels, when he sends penance, through which he restores the good qualities which were destroyed, and repairs those which were injured. Wherefore the Prophet[1]: "He scatters the mists as ashes."—But what is the stain of sin, from which he cleanses the soul? Suppose now that a man has wished to commit murder and has accomplished it, and when he has accomplished it, he ceases both to desire it and to do it; but he does not yet truly and humbly do penance, nor does he purpose to confess. What stain therefore has remained in his soul? An evil will certainly was the stain of his soul, but that has passed; also it is a stain if he scorns to do penance; but this sin is different from the preceding. What stain therefore has remained, from which he is purged in penance?—The soul is surely polluted, until the penitent does penance, even as it was, while the evil will was in it. For just as a man who touches carrion or any other unclean thing,[2] is polluted after the touch until he washes, just as he was while he was touching it; so after the act of sin the soul remains polluted just as it was in the very act of sin, because through unlikeness it is as far from God, who is the life and purity of the mind, as it was while it was committing the sin. Therefore that very unlikeness which is the mark of the soul from sin and is a removal from God is understood as the stain of the soul, from which it is purged in penance. But the purging God alone performs, who alone awakens the soul and illumines it; and the priests are unable to perform it, although they are the physicians of souls. Wherefore the Prophet[3]: "Shall physicians raise to life, and give praise to thee?" Explaining this passage Augustine says[4]: "Good teachers are rightly called physicians, for they are able to cure the living by their ministry, but not to arouse the dead; for only by the grace of God are the dead made alive again.

[1] Ps. 147, 16.

[2] Levit. 11, 31; Numbers 19, 22.

[3] Ps. 87, 11.

[4] Enarrat. in Ps. 87. n. 10.

I. *When these keys are given and to whom.*

Now that it has been shown what the apostolic keys are, and what their use is; it remains to find out when these keys are given, and to whom.—These keys are given by the ministry of the bishop to a man when he is promoted to the priesthood; for when he receives the sacerdotal orders, he also receives these keys at the same time.—But it does not seem that all priests or only priests have these keys, because many have the knowledge to distinguish before sacred ordination, and many lack it after consecration. We can say rightly that all priests do not have one of these keys, namely, the knowledge to distinguish, on which account we must grieve and lament. For many persons, although indiscreet and lacking the knowledge in which they ought to excel, presume to receive the grade of priesthood, unworthy of it in life and in knowledge, who neither before priesthood, nor after, have the knowledge to distinguish, who should be bound and who loosed. Therefore they do not receive that key in ordination, because they always lack the knowledge. But those who before priesthood are endowed with the knowledge to discern, although they have discretion, yet have not the key, because they have not the power to close or open with it. Therefore when a man is promoted to the priesthood, he is rightly said to receive the key of discretion, because the discretion he had before is increased and is made a key for him, so that then he has power to use it for closing or opening.

And since it is now evident that not all priests have these two keys, because many lack the knowledge to distinguish; as regards the other key, that is, the power of binding and loosing, we are asked whether all priests have that.—For some think the power is granted only to those who follow both the doctrine and life of the apostles. For the Lord promised the keys only to Peter and his imitators, they say; and they cite authorities in support of their opinion. For they The same in his commentary on Exodus,[1] where the golden plate is

[1] Preceding distinction, c. 5, that is, V. de Baptismo contra Donatist. c. 21. n. 29.

himself or through the members of the dove gives remission of sins." Augustine also says that sins are remitted or retained by the saints. The same in his commentary on Exodus,[2] where the golden plate is spoken of: "And there was always a golden plate on the brow of the priest": "This," he says, "signifies the assurance of a good life, and only the priest who has this truly and perfectly, not in symbol, but in truth, can take away sins." Also Gregory[2]: "They only, while in the flesh, have the power of binding and loosing like the holy apostles who follow their examples as well as their doctrines." Also from the words of Origen: "This power was granted to Peter only, and to the imitators of Peter. For those who imitate the steps of Peter, have rightly the power of binding and loosing." By these and many other testimonies they support their case, who assert that the power of binding and of loosing was granted to those priests only, who in life and doctrine are equal to the apostles.

But it seems to others, and also I confess to me, that to all priests is given this key, that is, of binding and loosing; but they do not have it rightly and worthily unless they follow the apostolic life and doctrine. Nor do the preceding authorities deny that evil priests have this power, but they mean that only those priests use the power worthily and rightly, who are endowed with apostolic life and doctrine, because only the imitators of the apostles themselves can worthily and rightly bind and loose. And only by the Lord or by saints in whom the holy Spirit dwells, is remission or retention of sins worthily and rightly awarded. Nevertheless it is awarded also by those who are not saints, but not worthily or rightly. For God gives benediction to one who worthily asks it, even through an unworthy minister. But that all priests have this power, Jerome[3] testifies in his exposition of that passage of the Gospel where the Lord said to Peter: "I will give you the keys of heaven": "For other apostles," he says, "have the same judiciary power; and the whole Church has it through the bishops and presbyters. But Peter re-

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[1] II. Quaestion. in Pentateuch. q. 120; see Exod. 28, 38.

[2] Lib. II. Homil. in Evang. homil. 26. n. 4. seq.; II. Dialog. c. 23; cf. Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 14, where is also found the following passage of Origen, Comment. in Matt. Lib. XII. n. 9.

[3] Not found in Jerome, but in the Glossa Matt. 16, 17. and in Rabanus, V. Comment. in Matt. loc. cit., who took the first part from Bede, on the same passage. Cf. also C. *Si iustus* (30.), C. 1. q. 1. and C. *Ut evitentur* (82.), ibid.

ceived it specially so that all might know that whosoever separates himself from the unity of the faith and the fellowship of the Church, can neither be loosed from sin nor enter heaven."

II. *Whether worthy grace can be imparted by an unworthy priest.*

Also that a priest, even if he be wicked, yet imparts grace according to the office of his dignity, Augustine[1] shows when he says: "The Lord spake in Numbers, to the priests Moses and Aaron: 'Invoke my name on the sons of Israel, and I the Lord will bless them'; so that he might impart to men the grace given through the ministry of a priest ordained, nor might the will of the priests hinder or profit it, but the merit of the one who asked a benediction. But let us now consider how great the dignity of the sacerdotal office and order is. It is said among other things of the wicked Caiaphas: 'But this he did not speak of himself, but since he was the high-priest of that year, he prophesied'; by which it is shown that the Spirit of graces does not have regard to the person of a worthy or unworthy man but to his order by consecration; so that no matter how great merit anyone may have, he cannot bless unless he has been ordained, that he may perform the ministry of his office. But it belongs to God to give the effect of benediction."—Hereby it is clearly shown that the office is not deprived of the power of granting grace on account of unworthiness in the minister.—To this opinion of Augustine, however, the words of Hesychius[2] seem opposed: "Priests," he says, "do not bless by their own power, but because they represent Christ, and on account of him who is in them, grant the fullness of benediction; nor is it only he who has received priesthood, but whoever has Christ in him, and bears his image through good conversation, like Moses, is suitable to give benediction."—Behold here you have that not only the priest, but everyone in whom Christ dwells may give the benediction. But there is one benediction which is suited to priests alone, another which is used in common by all good men. Finally those priests, in whom Christ dwells, are said to impart the fullness of benediction, not because they alone transmit grace, but because they alone lawfully and worthily do it. Nor does the evil

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[1] Quaestion. ex veteri testam. (spurious) q. 11; C. *Dictum est* (96.), ibid. See Num. 6, 27, and below John 11, 51.

[2] Lib. II. in Levit. (9, 23.)

life of the priest hurt persons placed under him, if they do the good deeds which he tells them. Wherefore Gregory[1]: "Many, while they scrutinize the life of the priests more than their own, fall into the pitfall of error, not considering that the life of the priests would not hurt them if they would humbly lend their ears to the good admonitions of the priests."

III. *How we must understand the words: "I will curse your blessings."*

But the preceding view, that even through the ministry of an evil priest, the grace of benediction is transmitted, seems contradicted by the warning of the Lord against evil priests through the prophet Malachi[2]: "I will curse your blessings"; and in another place,[3] "Woe to those who save souls alive which do not live," and "kill souls which do not die." For if the Lord curses their blessings and if the souls which they save alive do not live, how is the grace of benediction transmitted through them?—But this chapter: "I will curse," etc., is applied by some persons to the heretics who are cut off from the Church, and to the excommunicate whose benedictions are made maledictions to those who follow their errors. And this other passage, namely: "They save alive," etc., they interpret of all those priests, who without the key of knowledge and the form of a good life presume to bind or loose. But no one ought to fill the office of priest, unless he be immune from those sins which he judges in others; otherwise he condemns himself.

IV. *What sort of man the ecclesiastical judge ought to be.*

Now what sort of man he ought to be who is appointed judge of others, Augustine describes when he says[4]: "A priest to whom is brought every sinner, before whom every weakness is declared, ought not to be liable to judgment for any of those offences, which he is prompt to judge in another. For in judging another, a man who deserves to be judged, condemns himself. Therefore let him

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[1] Can. *Multi saecularium* (84.), ibid.

[2] Mal. 2, 2.

[3] Ezek. 13, 19.

[4] De vera et falsa Poenitentia, c. 20. n. 36. (among his works); C. *Qui vult confiteri* (1.) de Poenitentia. d. 6. § 2. 3. See Rom. 2, 1, and next John 8, 7.

know himself, and purge in himself the guilt that he sees others present to him; let him take care to cast out from himself whatever he finds to be condemned in others. Let him remember, 'he who is without sin, let him first cast a stone upon her.' For the Lord freed the sinful woman, because there was not one who could justly cast a stone. How should he stone, who recognized himself as deserving to be stoned? There was no one without sin; by which we understand that all had been guilty of crime, for venial sins were remitted through ceremonies; therefore whatever sin was in them it was criminal. Hereby therefore it is clear that we are to detest the crime of priests, who do not judge themselves before they bind others.—Let the spiritual judge beware that as he has not committed the offence of negligence, so he lacked not the gift of knowledge; it is necessary that he should understand what he ought to judge. It is essential for judicial power to distinguish what it must judge. Therefore let the diligent investigator wisely ask of the sinner what perhaps he does not know or wishes, with a natural feeling of shame, to conceal. And when the offence is understood, let him not hesitate to investigate its details, both the place, and the time, and other matters of which we spoke above, and when he has learned these, let him be benevolently helpful, ready to rise and bear the burden with the sinner: let him have sweetness in his affection, discretion in variation, let him teach perseverance, let him take care lest he fall, lest he justly destroy his judiciary power. Even if penance could win back grace for him, yet it would not soon restore him to his former power. Even if Peter after his fall was restored, and the power of their rank is often returned to fallen priests, yet it is not necessarily given back to everyone, as if by authority. One authority is found which gives and as it were commands; other authority is found which does not give but forbids. And the Scriptures do not contradict this but agree. For since there are so many who fall, that with authority they might insist upon their former dignity and form a sort of habit of sinning, the hope of doing so must be cut off. But wherever there is a place where such things do not occur, the priests who sin can be restored."—By these words it is clearly indicated what sort of man a priest ought to be who binds and looses others, namely discreet and just; otherwise he often kills souls, which are not dead and saves alive those which are not alive; and so he falls under the judgment of the curse. But the passage of

Malachi, namely: "I will curse your blessings," whether the words be applied to heretics only and to excommunicants, or to all priests, who, though lacking in life and knowledge, presume to bless, can be thus interpreted: I will curse your blessings, that is, "those which you possess in these blessings," [1] because I will make them turn to a curse upon you, not a blessing, for, even if they bless saints, they do not do it from a true heart, and therefore their blessing is turned into a curse upon them. Or "I will curse your blessings," that is, "what is blessed by you will be cursed by me," because they bless those who do evil and they flatter sinners, provided they are rich.

[1] This and the following passage is from Jerome, on Malachi 2, 2.

Distinction XX

PART I

I. *Of those who repent at the end.*

We must also realize that the time for penance extends even to the last moment of life. Wherefore Pope Leo[1]: "No one should be despaired of while he is still in this body, because sometimes an act which is deferred by the diffidence of youth, is carried out by a maturer purpose." Augustine however writes as follows about those who defer their penance[2]: "If anyone at the last extremity wishes to receive penance, and if he receives it and is soon reconciled, and goes hence, I acknowledge to you, that we do not refuse him what he asks, but we do not conclude that he departs in blessedness; if he goes hence safely, I do not know. We are able to give penance, but not safety. Do I say he will be condemned? But neither do I say he will be freed. Therefore do you wish to be free from doubt? Do penance while you are well. If you do so, I say to you that you are secure, because you did penance when you could have sinned. If you wish to do penance when you cannot sin, the sins have left you, not you them." Also[3]: "There are two alternatives: either you will not be pardoned, or you will be pardoned; which of these will be yours, I do not know: therefore hold to what is certain, and leave what is uncertain." But why did Augustine say this, when the penance, which is performed at the end, is called in the psalm an "evening sacrifice" [4] "which was more acceptable in the Law," and when on whatever day God is invoked, he is present, and at whatever hour the sinner laments and is converted he shall live and not die? Augustine said this on their account who defer penance to the end of life; and then do not seem to repent from love of God, but from

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[1] Ep. 167 (alias 92.) ad Rustic. Inquis. 7; C. *Nemo desperandus* (1.), de Poenitent. d. 7.

[2] Sermo 393. (alias 41. among 50 Homil.); C. *Si quis positus* (2.), ibid.

[3] Serm. cit.; C. *Si quis autem* (4.), ibid. § 1.

[4] Ps. 140, 2; next Ps. 55, 10; Ezek. 18, 21.

fear of death, as though of necessity. Wherefore again,[1] as though explaining why he said the above, he says: "Let no one wait for the time when he cannot sin. For God requires freedom of the will, not necessity to efface what has been committed; love not only fear, because man does not live in fear only. Whoever therefore repents, ought not only to fear the judge, but to love him; because no one can be saved without love. Let him therefore not only fear the penalty, but let him long for glory. And if conversion come to anyone at the end, we are not to despair of his remission. But since seldom or rarely is such a conversion so just, we must fear for a late penitent, especially when the children whom he has unlawfully loved are present, when his wife and the world call him to themselves. Late penance is wont to deceive many. But since God is always mighty, he can always help even in death those whom he will. Since therefore fruitful penance is the work not of man but of God; he can inspire it when he wills by his mercy, and can reward with mercy those whom in justice he could condemn. But since there are many things which impede and deter a sick man, it is dangerous and near to ruin, to defer the remedy of penance until death. But it is a great remedy for him in whom God then inspires true penance, if there is any such person." "But even if the person thus converted lives and does not die, we do not promise that he will escape all penalty. For first he must be purged by the fire of purgatory, since he has deferred to another world the fruits of conversion, and this fire, even though it is not eternal, yet it is severe to an extraordinary degree; for it surpasses all punishment, which anyone has ever suffered in this life. Such punishment is never endured in the flesh, although the martyrs suffered wonderful torments, and many have often endured great punishments wrongly!"—From these quotations we are shown sufficiently how dangerous it is to defer penance to the end of life. If however a man has true penance even then, it frees him and secures life for one who is dead; yet not so that he knows no punishment, unless by chance the vehemence of his groaning and contrition is so great, that it suffices for the punishment of his sin. "Therefore although it is difficult to have true penance when it comes so late, when pain besets the members and grief oppresses the senses,

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[1] De vera et falsa Poenitent. (spurious) c. 17. n. 33; following passage, ibid. c. 18. n. 34; both in C. *Nullus expectet* (6.), ibid.

so that a man can hardly think at all, yet late penance is better than none." [1] "For penance even if it comes at the last gasp of life, heals and frees." [2] "The penance of the thief was very late; but the pardon was not late." [3] But "although[4] the thief in the end gained pardon from all sin, God did not give to persons baptized authority to sin and persevere."

II. *Of those who do not complete penance.*

But if we are asked concerning those persons who do not complete penance in this life, whether they will go through the fire[5] of purgatory, in order to complete what here they failed to do in part; we say that we must think the same of them as of those who repent at the last. For if there is such contrition of heart and remorse for sin that it suffices to punish sin; they go to eternal life free of all penalties, even if their penance was incomplete, because they did penance perfectly and groaned in heart. But those who are not so bruised in heart and do not groan so for sin, if they depart before the completion of their penance, they shall endure the fire of purgatory, and suffer more grievously than if they had completed the penance here; "for it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." For since God is merciful and just, he mercifully forgives the penitent, not reserving his sin to eternal punishment, but in justice he does not forgive unpunished sin. And either man punishes, or God. Man punishes by doing penance, but God by demanding penance. There is both an inner penance, and an outer. If therefore the inner penance is so great, that it is a sufficient avenging of sin, God who knows this, does not demand further penance from him who did so great a penance. But if the inner penance is not sufficient to avenge the sin, and the outer penance is not complete, God who knows the kinds and measures of sins and of punishments, adds a sufficient punishment. "Let a man therefore study so to correct his sins, that after death he need not endure punishment.

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[1] Hugh of St. Victor, II. de Sacram. p. XIV. c. 5.

[2] De vera et falsa Poenitent. c. 17. n. 33; can. cit.

[3] Hugh, loc. cit.

[4] De vera et falsa Poenitent. loc. cit. a little above. See Luke 23, 42.

[5] See Heb. 10, 31. For the following, cf. Aug., Enarrat. in Ps. 44. n. 18 and Ps. 58, serm. 1. n. 13.

For some mortal sins are made venial by penance; yet they are not immediately healed. For often a sick man would die, if he were not treated, yet the physician does not immediately cure him. He is feeble afterwards though destined to live, who before was about to die. But he who dies impenitent, dies utterly, and is eternally tortured. For if he should live always, he would always sin." [1]

PART II

III. *Of him on whom an indiscreet priest enjoined penance.*

But if we are asked regarding a man who has fulfilled the satisfaction required of him, which through the ignorance or negligence of the priest was not adequate for the sin, whether when he departs this life, he is free of all punishment; I make the same answer as I did above[2] for him who did not complete his penance, that if the lament of inner grief is so great that it suffices to avenge the sin, he is entirely freed; but if the inner grief together with the penance enjoined upon him does not suffice, God will add punishment. But that sometimes inner grief suffices to avenge sin, we have a sure proof in the case of that thief, who only through contrition of the mind and confession, won entrance into paradise as soon as he was converted. But because the stewards of the Church do not weigh exactly the quantity of contrition, since they are not permitted to know the secrets of hearts; they establish laws of penance for all who grieve whether more or less for their sin. Their zeal ought to aim chiefly at weighing the grief of the heart as much as is right, so that according to its degree they may enjoin satisfaction. Wherefore Augustine[3]: "In the performing of penance, where an act has been committed, so serious as to separate from the body of Christ the man who has committed it; we must not consider so much the extent of time of the penance as the extent of the grief: 'For a contrite and humble heart God will not despise.' But because often the grief of one heart is hidden from another and does not come to the notice of others unless it is revealed by words or by

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[1] De vera et falsa Poenitent. c. 18. n. 34; can. cit. On the last proposition, cf. Gregory, XXXIV. Moral. c. 19. n. 36.

[2] Here c. 2. See Luke 23, 43.

[3] Enchirid. c. 65. n. 17; C. *In actione* (84.), de Poenitent. d. 1. See Ps. 50, 19, 37, 10 and II. Cor. 5, 5.

some other signs, although it is open to him to whom it is said: 'My groaning is not hid from thee'; for this reason times of penance have rightly been established by those who rule over the Churches, so that the sinner may satisfy the Church, where the sins themselves are remitted; for outside it they certainly are not remitted. For it receives the holy Spirit as a pledge, without whom no sins are remitted." Also Jerome[1]: "The canons therefore do not fix clearly enough the length of time for doing penance for each crime, so as to say of particular sins how each should be amended; but rather they have determined that it should be left to the judgment of an understanding priest, because with God the measure of time is not of such value as the measure of grief, nor abstinence from food as mortification of vices. Therefore they enjoin that the seasons of penance be shortened for the faith and conversation of faithful penitents; for certain faults, however, measures of penance are imposed."

IV. *That satisfaction should not be required of the dying, but mentioned to them.*

We are often asked also, whether the law of satisfaction should be imposed on persons about to die. Of this, Theodore bishop of Canterbury says in his penitential[2]: "Simple confession of sins should be asked of the sick in danger of death, but the full extent of penance should not be imposed on them, though it must be mentioned, and the weight of penance should be lightened by the prayers of friends and by the bestowal of alms, if by chance the sick depart this life. But if they regain their health, let them fulfill diligently the measure of penance imposed by the priest." And for other persons the penance must be determined by the judgment of those in authority according to the nature of their sin. Wherefore Pope Leo[3]: "The times of penance must be fixed by your judgment with moderation, according as you observe that the souls of the converts are devout. Equally also you ought to have regard for old age and

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[1] Rather Alcuin, de Divinis Officiis, c. 13, who cites Jerome; C. *Mensuram autem* (86.), ibid.

[2] Fragments c. 48. (Migne, Patrol. Lat. XCIX. col. 977); C. *Ab infirmis* (1.), C. 26. q. 7.

[3] Ep. 159. (alias 79.) ad Nicetam Episc. c. 6; C. *Tempora poenitudinis* (2.), ibid.

to be mindful of dangers of all sorts and of the necessities of disease."

V. *In an emergency penance and reconciliation must not be denied.*

We must also understand that in a time of emergency penance and reconciliation must not be denied to penitents. Wherefore Pope Leo[1]: "Satisfaction must not be forbidden nor reconciliation denied to those who in a time of necessity and urgent danger implore the help of penance and speedy reconciliation, because we can set no measure to the mercy of God, nor limit the times." "And if[2] they are so prostrated by some sickness, that they cannot at the moment make known what shortly before they asked for, the testimonies of faithful bystanders ought to aid them, and they should obtain at the same time the benefit of penance and reconciliation." Also Pope Julius[3]: "If a presbyter denies penance to the dying, he will be the one responsible for their souls, because the Lord says: 'When he is converted, then will he be saved.' For there can be true confession at the last, because God is a respecter not only of the time but also of the heart, as the case of the thief proves."

VI. *That a presbyter should not reconcile anyone, without consulting the bishop, unless necessity compels it.*

However a presbyter ought not reconcile a penitent without consulting the bishop, unless extreme necessity compels it. Wherefore in the canons of the Council of Carthage[4]: "A presbyter shall not reconcile a penitent without consulting the bishop unless the bishop is absent or extreme necessity compels it. In the case of a penitent whose offence is a public one, that has disturbed a whole city, let hands be laid on him before the choir, that is, at the entrance to the church." Likewise[5] Bishop Aurelius said: "If anyone in danger seeks to be reconciled at the divine altar when the bishop is absent, the presbyter need not consult the bishop but reconcile the one in peril without the bishop's command." But without consulting the

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[1] Ep. 108. (alias 91.) ad Theod. c. 4; C. *His qui tempore* (10.), C. 26. q. 6.
[2] Ibid. c. 5; C. *His qui tempore* (10.), op. cit.
[3] Can. *Si presbyter* (12.), ibid. See Ezek. 18, 21. 27 and I. Kings 16, 7.
[4] Can. *Presbyter* (14.), ibid.
[5] C. *Aurelius episcopus* (5.), ibid.

bishop, a presbyter cannot reconcile the excommunicate or public penitents. Wherefore it was decided in the second Council of Carthage[1] "that chrism or the reconciliation of penitents and the consecration of virgins should not be performed by presbyters." Also[2]: "A presbyter is not permitted to reconcile anyone during public Mass." The consecration of virgins, however, can be performed by a presbyter, if the bishop is consulted. Wherefore in the second Council of Carthage[3]: "A presbyter should not consecrate virgins without consulting the bishop, and he should never administer the chrism." As a presbyter can consecrate virgins at the command of the bishop, so he can also reconcile penitents.

VII. *Whether we can accept the oblation of the man who on his way to penance is prevented by death.*

And if we are asked whether we are to receive the oblation of a man who when hastening to penance cannot find a priest, and so departs this life; we say, that we are to receive it. Wherefore in the canons of the Council of Apanea[4]: "If anyone die, who has not confessed, but has a good report and could not reach the priest but was overcome by death in his home or on the way, let his kinsfolk make his oblation for him at the altar, and let them give money to redeem captives."

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[1] Can. *Si iubet* (1.), ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Can. *Presbyter inconsulto* (2.), ibid.
[4] (Alias Apanensi.) C. *Si aliquis* (11.), ibid.

Distinction XXI

PART I

I. *Of sins which are remitted after this life.*

We are also often asked whether any sins are remitted after this life. That some are remitted after this life Christ shows in the Gospel when he says[1]: "Whosoever sins against the holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come." From which we are to understand, as the holy doctors declare, that some sins will be forgiven in the future. "For some sins are pardoned in this world, but some little ones are also remitted in the future; certainly those which burden sinners after death are forgiven, if they are worthy, if by good works in this life they have deserved to be forgiven." [2]

II. *Of those who build gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble.*

Of those persons who build "wood, hay, stubble" Augustine[3] says that they shall find the fire of transitory tribulation burning the inflammable structures, which they have carried with them. For he says: "Certainly after the death of this body, when souls are passing from the fire of purgatory to the day of damnation and recompense, during this interval of time the spirits of the dead, who built up wood, hay, stubble, are said to endure a sort of fire which others who have not carried with them such structures do not feel, that they may find the fire of transitory tribulation burning up venial offences; I will not deny this statement, because it may be true." "But because it is said: 'He will be saved so as by fire,' this fire is despised. However this fire will be more severe than anything which a man can suffer in this life." [4]—Here it is clearly indicated

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[1] Matt. 12, 32; Lk. 12, 10.

[2] Gregory, IV. Dialog. c. 39 and C. *Qualis hinc* (4.), d. 25.

[3] Lib. XXI. de Civ. Dei, c. 26. n. 4. (Cf. Enchirid. c. 69. n. 18.) See I. Cor. 3, 12.

[4] Enarrat. in Ps. 37. n. 3. See I. Cor. 3, 15.

that those who build wood, hay, stubble carry with them certain inflammable structures, that is, venial sins; which are burned up in the correcting fire. Wherefore it is established that some venial sins are effaced after this life.

III. *That some persons are more quickly, others more slowly, purged in the fire of purgatory.*

Now some are purged more slowly, others more quickly in this purging fire, according as they have loved more or less the things which perish. Wherefore Augustine[1]: "It is not incredible that after this life some of the faithful are saved through a certain purging fire more quickly or more slowly according as they have loved more or less the good things that perish."

IV. *What it means to build wood, hay, stubble.*

Therefore the Apostle did not idly distinguish the three, "wood, hay, stubble," which those men build who, even if they do not steal others' goods, nevertheless cleave with a kind of love to things which are a concession to weakness; and, according to their degrees of loving them they will endure the fire either longer as wood, or less as hay, or least as stubble. But those who build "gold, silver, and precious stone" are safe from both fires, not only from the eternal, which will torture the impious forever, but also from that correcting fire, by which some persons who are to be saved, will be purged." [2]

Here someone may object: if by wood, hay, stubble, venial sins are to be understood, and no one is so perfect as not to sin venially: then those who build gold, silver and precious stone, build also wood, hay, stubble: therefore they will pass through the fire.—To this we say that not everyone who sins venially, builds wood, hay, stubble; just as on the contrary, not every one who contemplates God, and loves his neighbor and does good works, builds gold, silver, and precious stone. And yet by "gold" is understood the contemplation of God, by "silver" the love of one's neighbor, by the "precious stone" good works. But those who build "wood, hay, stubble," con-

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[1] Enchirid. c. 69. n. 18.

[2] This and what follows is gathered from several passages of Augustine as Enarrat. in Ps. 80. n. 21; in Ps. 37. n. 3; de Fide et operibus c. 15. 16.

template God, and love their neighbor, and do good works, but they do not build "gold, silver, and precious stone."

V. *What it is to build gold, silver, precious stones.*

For he builds these, who does these three so that he thinks the thoughts that are God's and how he may please God, not the world. "But by 'wood and hay and stubble' we may understand worldly things, although those that are lawfully allowed, such lusts as cannot be given up without grief of soul." [1] Therefore he who thinks the thoughts of the world and how he may please the world, builds these, "he is bound by some carnal love for his riches, and yet does much good with his wealth, and does not commit any fraud or rapine for it." [2]—From these quotations, then, it is clear that the same man does not build the one and the other at the same time. For one building is only done by the perfect who do not think of pleasing the world, but only of pleasing God; and even if they sometimes sin venially, their sin is consumed within them by the fervor of charity[3] as a drop of water in a fiery furnace; and therefore they never carry with them what can be burned. But the other worse building is the work of lesser men, who think to please not only God, but also the world, yet prefer God. For if they preferred the world, they would not build but destroy the foundation. Therefore their carnal affections through which they are devoted, their homes, wives and possessions, yet so that they prefer nothing to Christ, are signified by those three wood, hay, stubble; which do not enter the minds of the perfect, even if they admit other venial sins; but sometimes they last in the hearts of the lesser men to the end and they die with these structures, are but parted from them in the fire; they will be saved by the merit of their foundation and yet will feel the severest punishment. From this it appears how great is the "mercy" which God shows here and how great is the "truth" which he maintains there, since he punishes the same sin much more severely there than here.[4]

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[1] August., Enchirid. c. 68. n. 18.

[2] August., de Fide et operibus c. 16. n. 27.

[3] Cf. Gregory, II. Homil. in Evang., homil. 33. n. 4 and XVI. Moral. c. 67. n. 81.

[4] Ps. 84, 11.

VI. *That one may do penance truly for one venial sin, even if not for every one.*

But perhaps you will say that we must understand this saying of the punishment of sin, not of the sin itself, because Gregory[1] says that some light offences are remitted in the future. For if a man does true penance, all his sins are forgiven him, but perhaps the punishment remains; therefore if he die truly penitent, he departs without sin; but if he is not truly penitent in death, he carries a stain which will never be effaced. But he who builds up wood, hay, stubble does penance truly, because he is good and has charity and departs this life in charity: therefore he departs without sin.— It does not follow: it is indeed true, that he is good, and has charity, and does penance truly; and yet he departs with venial sin, which penance has not effaced. For penance effaces only the sin which a man abandons. But this kind of sin is often not abandoned by a man in this life, and yet he is truly penitent, even though he does not do penance for all his venial sins. For a man can do penance for every mortal, and for every venial sin, except one or more venial sins; just as a man may have charity, and one or more venial sins, but this cannot in any way be possible with criminal offences. For there may be a good man who has charity but loves the things of this world with a sort of affectionate desire; and while he is in this state, he is overcome by sudden death; he is dead in his worldly affection, and yet he will be saved, though he did not free himself from it here: therefore after this life he will be purged from it. So it is evident that some sins, that is trivial ones, are remitted after this life. But if our authors had wished this saying to be understood of the punishment of sin, why did they mention trivial rather than grievous ones, when the punishment of grievous ones, which has not been completed here, continues after this life.

PART II

VII. *What general confession is.*

Next we must consider what profit there is in that confession where the particular sins which one has done, are not enumerated.— We can say rightly, that all criminal offences ought to be mentioned at least once in confession, unless some have escaped the mind.

[1] Lib. IV. Dialog. c. 39. Cf. n. 2. p. 8.

But because no one knows all his sins, confess generally at least those which you do not remember, and then you will not have concealed any of your sins. But it is sufficient to confess generally, venial sins, because they are innumerable, unless some are frequently repeated; nevertheless it is more perfect to state these also if you can. Therefore general confesson is made daily in the Church for the venial sins which we commit daily, and for those mortal sins of which we have no knowledge. Wherefore Augustine[1]: "The penitent speaks the truth to God, when he conceals from him none of the sins he has committed; not that God would be ignorant of them, even if the penitent concealed them deliberately, but God wishes the penitent to tell him the truth, so that he may obtain pardon. But if any sins escape his mind, he confesses the truth to God when he says generally: 'O God, who knowest the secrets of the heart, and from whom my deeds and sins are not hid,' for them I pray that thou wouldst grant pardon. And this is the truth of confession which God loves." Wherefore: "For behold thou hast loved truth."—Here it is implied that general confession effaces even the mortal sins, of which we have no knowledge.

VIII. *That no one ought to confess sins, which he has not done.*

But as the penitent ought not conceal his sin, because that is pride; so he ought not for the sake of humility confess himself guilty of what he knows he has not committed, because such humility is dangerous, and makes him a sinner. Wherefore Augustine[2]: "When you lie for the sake of humility, if you were not a sinner before you lied, by lying you have done what you tried to avoid. The truth is not in you, unless you call yourself a sinner just in so far as you know you are. It is the truth itself, that you call yourself what you are. For how is there truth where falsehood rules?"

IX. *Of the punishment of the priest who publishes the sins of one who has confessed.*

"But let the priest take care lest he betray to others the sins of

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[1] Lib. V. Hypognost. (among Augustine's works) c. 1. n. 1. See Ps. 68, 6 and below Ps. 50, 8.

[2] Sermo 181. (alias 29. de Verbis Apost.) c. 4. n. 5; C. *Cum humilitatis* (9.), C. 22. q. 2.

those who confessed, otherwise let him be deposed. Wherefore Gregory: "Let a priest above all take care not to repeat to anyone the sins which are confessed to him, neither to relatives nor to strangers; nor, Heaven forbid, for the sake of a scandal. For if he do this he should be deposed, and pass all the days of his life wandering about branded with shame." [1] "But the saying,[2] that a penitent should choose a priest who knows how to bind and loose, seems to be contrary to the directions in the canons, namely, that no one should presume to judge another's parishioner. But it is one thing to scorn one's own priest from prejudice or hatred, as the canons forbid, and another to avoid a blind priest, which Urban warns us to do, lest 'if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the pit.'" For Urban II says: "We have determined that no priest hereafter should be allowed to receive for penance anyone committed to another priest, without the consent of the priest to whom he had previously committed himself, except on account of the ignorance of the priest to whom he had previously confessed. And a priest who tries to act contrary to this rule, will be in danger of losing his office."

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[1] So in C. *Sacerdos ante* (2.), de Poenitent. d. 6. Not found in Gregory.

[2] Dist. XVII. c. 4.—From Gratian, can. cit. See Matt. 15, 14. The words of Urban follow there in the next C.

Distinction XXII

I. *Whether pardoned sins return.*

And since it has been asserted above[1] by many authorities, that sins are pardoned through true contrition of the heart before the confession of the mouth, or satisfaction of deeds, even to a man who has at some time relapsed into sin; we are asked, whether if after contrition of heart the man scorns to confess or falls into the same sin or a like one, his pardoned sins may return. The solution of this problem is obscure and perplexing, since some assert, but others on the contrary deny, that sins once pardoned are again recalled for punishment. But those who say that pardoned sins return, support their position by the following testimonies. Ambrose says[2]: "Pardon each other, if a man sins against another; otherwise God recalls your pardoned sins. For if he is despised in these ways he will without doubt recall the sentence by which he granted mercy, as we read in the Gospel of the wicked servant, who was found unmerciful to his fellow-servant." Also Rabanus[3]: "God gave the wicked servant to the torturers, until he should pay all his debt; because not only the sins which a man did after baptism will be accounted unto him for punishment, but even the original sins which were forgiven him in baptism." Also Gregory[4]: "From these words of the Gospel it is evident that if we do not forgive from our whole heart the transgression committed against us, the offence will be held against us again, which we rejoiced to think was forgiven us through penance." Likewise Augustine[5]: "God says: 'Forgive and it shall be forgiven thee'; but I first forgave, do thou forgive afterwards. For if thou dost not forgive I will recall thee, and I will turn back upon thee whatever

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[1] Dist. XVII. c. 1. and XIV. c. ult.

[2] In Epist. ad Ephes. 4, 32; cf. Hugh of St. Victor, II. de Sacram. p. XIV. c. 9. See Matt. 18, 33.

[3] *Si Iudas* (1), de Poenitent. d. 4. § 1.

[4] Lib. IV. Dialog. c. 60; C. *Constat ex dictis* (2.), ibid.

[5] Serm. 83. (alias 15. de Verbis Dom.) c. 6. n. 7; C. *Dixit Dominus* (3.), ibid. See Luke 6, 37.

I forgave." Also[1]: "The man who, unmindful of divine benefits, wishes to avenge his own injuries, not only shall not deserve pardon for his future sins, but shall have the past ones, which he believed were already forgiven him, turned back upon him for punishment." Also Bede[2]: "'I will return into my house,' etc.: This verse must be feared, not explained, lest the sin which we believed extinguished in us, should because of our negligence oppress us when we are idle." Also[3]: "For whatever lays hold of us after baptism, whether heretical error or worldly desire, will quickly cast us down to the depths of all wickedness." Also Augustine[4]: "That pardoned sins return where there is no brotherly love, the Lord teaches clearly in the Gospel in the parable of the servant from whom his lord demanded the debt, which had been remitted, because he would not forgive his fellow-servant his debt."—They depend on these authorities who say that pardoned sins, if repeated, simply return.—To them we may object: if anyone, for the sin of which he has repented and received indulgence, is punished again, it does not seem just. If he is punished for a sin which he sinned and did not amend, the justice is clear; but if what was pardoned is again called to account, it is either injustice, or hidden justice. For God seems 'to judge the same thing twice,' and 'double affliction to arise'[5]; and this the Scripture denies.—But to this argument we can reply that double tribulation does not arise, nor does God judge the same thing twice. For this would be the case, if after worthy satisfaction and sufficient punishment God should again punish, but the man has not made satisfaction worthily and sufficiently, if he has not persevered. For he ought to keep a perpetual memory of his sin, not in order to commit it, but in order to avoid it; he ought not to forget all the retributions of God which are as many as his remissions of sins: so he ought to consider that the gifts of God are as many as his afflictions, and to give thanks for them to the end. But

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[1] C. *Qui divini* (4.), ibid.; Aug. Serm. 83. ibid.

[2] Lib. IV. in Evang. Luc. 11, 24; C. *Revertar in domum* (5.), ibid.

[3] Ibid. v. 26; C. *Quaecumque enim* (6.), ibid.

[4] Lib. I. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, c. 12. n. 20; C. *Quomodo exaudit* (41.), de Cons. d. 4.

[5] Nahum 1, 9; cf. Dist. XV. c. 1. For the following, cf. Aug., Enarrat. in Ps. 102. n. 3. 4. See Ps. 102, 2 and II. Pet. 2, 22.

because the ungrateful man has returned to his vomit, like a dog, he has killed the good things which he did before, and has recalled the remitted sin, so that God who had before forgiven his sin when he was humbled, may impute it afterwards when he is lofty and ungrateful.

But because it seems inconsistent that pardoned sins should be imputed again, some[1] persons hold that no one is punished again by God for sins once pardoned; but for this reason pardoned sins are said to return and be imputed, because on account of ingratitude the man becomes as guilty and as much a sinner as he was before. For thus the sin that had been pardoned is said to be brought to account, because the man is ungrateful for the remission he received, and becomes as guilty as he was before.—Both answers to the question are supported by the approved doctors; therefore I pass no sentence in favor of either, but leave the judgment to the studious reader, adding that it will be safe for me and close to salvation to eat the crumbs under the tables of the lords.[2]

II. *What the sacrament is, and what the thing.*

After the foregoing, it remains to inquire what the sacrament is, and what the thing, in the act of penance. For a sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing; what therefore is the sign here?—Some say, as Grandulph, that the sacrament here is what is done outwardly only, that is, the outer penance, which is the sign of the inner penance, that is, of contrition of the heart and humility.—If this be so, not every sacrament of the gospel accomplishes that which it figures; for the outward penance does not effect the inward; rather the inward is the cause of the outward. But to this argument they reply that this rule must be understood of those sacraments which were instituted in the New Testament; that is, the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and of the body of Christ. But the sacrament of penance, as also that of marriage, existed before the time of grace, even from the beginning of the human race.[3] For both were instituted for our first parents.—Also, if outer penance is the sacrament, and inner the thing of the sacrament, the thing more often precedes the

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[1] As Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 13.

[2] Matt. 15, 27.

[3] Gen. 2, 22 (marriage), Gen. 3, 18 ff. (penance.)

sacrament, than the sacrament the thing.—But not even this is inconsistent. For it often happens also in other sacraments which accomplish what they figure.

But some say that both outer penance and inner are the sacrament, not two sacraments, but one, as the forms of bread and wine are not two sacraments, but one. And as in the sacrament of the body, so also in this sacrament they say that one is the sacrament only, that is, outer penance; another the sacrament and the thing, that is, inner penance; another the thing and not the sacrament, that is, the remission of sins. For inner penance is both the thing of the sacrament, namely, of outer penance, and the sacrament of the remission of sin, which it signifies and accomplishes. Outer penance is both the sign of the inner and of the remission of sins.

Distinction XXIII

I. *Of the sacrament of extreme unction.*

"Beside the preceding, there is also another sacrament, that is, the unction of the sick, which is administered at the end of life, with oil consecrated by the bishop." [1] "And there are three kinds of unction."

II. *Of the three kinds of unction.*

"For there is the unction, which is performed with the chrism, which is called the principal unction, because through it especially the Paraclete is given. Wherefore also on account of the abundance of grace it contains two liquids mixed, namely, oil and balsam, the oil of conscience, the balsam of good report. And it is called 'Chrism'[2] in Greek, 'unction' in Latin. But not all oil sanctified for unction is called chrism, but only that which is mixed with balsam, with which the heads of kings and bishops are anointed, and with which the priest anoints the baptized on the head, and the bishop anoints those who are to be confirmed on the brow with the laying on of hands. And there is another unction with which catechumens and neophytes are anointed on the breast and between the shoulders, when they receive baptism. But the third unction is that which is called the oil of the sick; and of this we will now treat."

III. *By whom this sacrament was instituted.*

"This sacrament of the unction of the sick is said to have been instituted by the apostles. For James says[3]: 'Is any sick among you? Let him call in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him.' In this passage we are shown that the sacrament was insti-

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[1] Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 15. The following quotation and all of c. II. is from Hugh of St. Victor, II. de Sacram. p. XV. c. 1; c. III. is ibid. c. 2.

[2] Greek, χρῖσμα.

[3] James 5, 14. 15. Following passage is also from Sum. Sent. tr. 6. c. 15.

tuted for a double purpose, namely for the remission of sins, and for the relief of bodily infirmity. Wherefore it is plain that he who receives this unction faithfully and devoutly, is relieved both in body and in soul, provided it is expedient that he be relieved in both. But if perhaps it is not expedient for him to have bodily health, he acquires in this sacrament that health which is of the soul." "And as in the other sacraments, so also in this, the 'sacrament' is one thing, and the 'thing of the sacrament' another. The 'sacrament' is the outer unction itself, the 'thing of the sacrament' the inner unction, which is accomplished by the remission of sins and the increase of virtues. And if this sacrament is omitted from contempt or neglect, it is dangerous and damnable."

IV. *Of the repetition of this sacrament.*

Some persons ask whether this sacrament can be repeated, since baptism and some other sacraments when once received are not to be repeated. Augustine says,[1] "The sacrament must not be repeated, and injury must not be done to the sacrament"; but he says this where he treats of the sacrament of baptism, of confirmation and of ordination. Wherefore it does not seem that this rule is to be accepted generally, but only for the sacraments of baptism, of confirmation and of ordination, which must never be repeated, because baptism, confirmation and ordination are given once for all and not more frequently. But the sacraments of the altar, and of penance and of marriage are evidently often repeated; for the sacrament of the body is often received, penance is frequently done, marriage is repeatedly contracted. Why therefore cannot unction be similarly repeated? If the disease does not return, the medicine is not to be repeated; but if the disease cannot be checked, why ought the medicine be prohibited? Even as prayer can be repeated, so it seems unction can also be repeated; for James in that passage mentions both, and both work together to bring relief of body and soul. Why therefore do some persons deny that unction can be repeated on one who is sick, in order to obtain again the health of mind and body, when the same prayer may be often repeated for the same infirmity?[2]—But some wish it understood that the whole

[1] Lib. II. contra Epist. Parmenian. c. 13. n. 28. The preceding proposition is also from Hugh, II. de Sacram. loc. cit. c. 3.

[2] Hugh, II. de Sacram. p. XIV. c. 3.

sacrament should not be repeated, namely everything which belongs to the sacrament, saying that some sacraments can be often received, but some not; and that those which are often received, are not completely repeated, as the sacrament of the altar and of unction; for although they are often received, yet because the same host is not blessed again, nor the same oil, the sacrament is not repeated with injury.—But someone will say: "in this sense baptism also is not repeated, even if one is frequently baptized, since the same water is not blessed again."—"But it is one thing," they say, the blessing of the water, by which baptism is conferred, another the blessing of the bread and oil. For baptism can be celebrated even in unblessed water, because the blessing is only for reverence and decorum, not for the virtue of the sacrament. But the body of Christ cannot be made, except of consecrated bread; nor can unction be performed, except with oil consecrated by the bishop; and therefore this sanctification seems to be a part of the virtue of the sacrament. In marriage also, a man is blessed only once, not oftener.—"For he is blessed," as Ambrose says,[1] "with his first and not with his second wife. If therefore when you say that a sacrament must not be repeated, nor injury done it, you apply the meaning of the term to the sanctification of the 'thing' by which the sacrament is completed, the rule is generally true of every sacrament. But if you apply it to the receiving of the 'sacrament,' it is true of some that they are not repeated or frequently received, but it is not true of others, because they are frequently received like this sacrament of unction, which is often repeated in almost every Church.

[1] In I. Cor. 7, 44. (among his works), and I. Tim. 5, 3.

Distinction XXIV

PART I

I. *Of ecclesiastical orders, how many they are.*

Now we come to the consideration of holy ordination. There are seven grades or orders of spiritual office, as is clearly taught us in the words of the holy Fathers, and as is shown by the example of our head, that is Jesus Christ, who performed in his own person the duties of them all, and left the same orders to be observed in his body which is the Church.

II. *Why there are seven.*

And there are seven on account of the sevenfold grace of the holy Spirit, and those who do not participate in this grace, enter the ecclesiastical grades unworthily. But when men in whose minds the seven-fold grace of the holy Spirit is diffused, enter the ecclesiastical orders, they are believed to receive a fuller grace in the very promotion to the spiritual rank.

III. *What kind of men are to be taken into the clergy.*

"And such clergy are to be elected to the spiritual ministry, as can worthily perform the Lord's sacraments. For it is better for the Lord to have few ministers who can worthily do the work of God, than many useless ones, who bring a heavy burden on him who ordained them." [1] For it is fitting that such be ministers of Christ as are adorned with the sevenfold grace of the holy Spirit; from whose doctrine and form of conversation the same grace may be transmitted to others, lest they trample the celestial pearls of spiritual words and divine ministrations under the feet of a vile life. Now in the sacrament of the sevenfold Spirit there are seven ecclesiastical ranks, that is: door-keepers, readers, exorcists, acolytes, subdeacons, deacons, priests; but all are called clergy, that is, chosen.

[1] Can. *Tales ad ministerium* (4.), d. 23. What preceded and much that follows is taken from Hugh of St. Victor, II. de Sacram. p. III, c. 5. See Matt. 7, 6.

IV. *Of the crown and tonsure.*

"For the crown is the sign, by which they are marked for a share in the lot of the divine ministry. The crown signifies royal dignity, because to serve God is to rule. Wherefore the ministers of the Church ought to be kings, so that they may rule themselves and others, for Peter says to them: 'You are an elect race, a royal priesthood,' etc. The crown of their heads is left uncovered from above, so that their minds may be shown to be free to the Lord, as they contemplate 'the glory of God with face uncovered.' For the crown of the head is the summit of the mind; the baring of the head is the uncovering of the mind." [1] "For the cleric ought not be ignorant of the secrets of God. And their hair is shaven for the uncovering of their senses, that is, of the eyes and ears," so that they may be taught that the sins which grow in heart and deed must be cut off, lest the mind be hindered from hearing and understanding the word of God, for the observance of which a crown shall be given on high. "Now ecclesiastical tonsure seems to have originated with the Nazarites, who first saved their hair, then shaved their heads for continence of life, and placed their hair in the fire of sacrifice. Hence the custom became established, that those who were devoted to divine worship like the Nazarites, that is, holy men, should be seen with shorn hair, as was said to Ezekiel: 'Thou son of man, take a sharp knife and cause it to pass upon thy head and beard.'" In the Acts of the Apostles also, we read that Priscilla and Aquila did this; Paul also and certain other disciples of Christ did it." [2] Therefore men appointed to any rank are rightly called clergy, and Isidore explains[3] their names and the meanings of their names, thus: "We believe that clergy and cleric are so called from the fact that Matthew was elected by lot, and he, as we read was the first man ordained by the Apostles. For 'cleros' in Greek, in Latin is lot or inheritance. Therefore they are called 'clergy' because they are of the lot of the Lord, or because they have God as their inheritance. But in general all who serve

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[1] Hugh, loc. cit. c. 1. See I. Peter 2, 9; II. Cor. 3, 18. Following passage, ibid. c. 2.

[2] Ibid. c. 3. (Cf. Isidore, II. de Ecclesiast. offic. c. 4). See Numbers 6, 18; Ezek. 5, 1; Acts 18, 18 and 21, 24.

[3] Lib. VII. Etymolog. c. 12. n. 1. f.; C. *Cleros* (1.), d. 21; cf. Aug., Enarrat. in Ps. 67. n. 19.

in the Church are called clergy; their grades and names are: door-keeper, reader," etc.

PART II

V. *Of the door-keepers.*

Door-keepers and janitors are the same as those who in the Old Testament[1] were elected to guard the temple, so that no unclean person should enter it; and they are called door-keepers because they are set over the doors of the temple. For they keep the key, and guard all things within and without, and passing judgment upon good and evil, they receive the worthy and expel the unworthy. Wherefore when they are ordained the keys of the Church are given them by the bishop, and he says to them: "So act as men about to render an account to God for the things which are unlocked by these keys." [2] —The Lord fulfilled this office in his own person when with a scourge of cords, he cast out of the temple those that bought and sold.[3] For he signified that he was a door-keeper, when he said: "I am the door, by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall come in, and go out, and shall find pasture." [4]

VI. *The readers.*

The second is the grade of readers: "The readers are so called from reading as the psalmists from singing psalms. For they deliver to the people what they should obey; they sing and excite the souls of their hearers to compunction; although some readers pronounce so miserably, that they drive persons to mourning and lamentation. They are also called 'proclaimers,' for they proclaim far ahead, and their voice is so clear, that it reaches even the ears of men placed far away." [5] "But it is the duty of the reader to read the lessons and to declare to the people what the Prophets foretold," [6] so that he

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[1] I. Paralis. (Chron.) 23, 5. What follows is from Isidore, VII. Etymolog. c. 12. n. 32, and II. de Ecclesiast. Offic. c. 15; C. *Cleros* § 19. On the functions of the clergy, see Isidore, Ep. ad Ludifredum, or Hugh, loc. cit. c. 6. ff.; cf. also Rabanus, IV. de Universo, c. 5.

[2] Can. *Ostiarius* (19.), d. 23.

[3] John 2, 15.

[4] John 10, 9.

[5] Isidore, VII. Etymolog. c. 12. n. 24; C. cit. *Cleros*, § 15; Hugh, loc. cit. c. 7.

[6] Can. *Perlectis* (1.), d. 25. § 5.—Following passage from Hugh, loc. cit.; C. *Lector* (18.), d. 23.—See Luke 4, 18; Isaiah 58, 1.

reads in Church, by virtue of his office, the prophecies and lessons. "Wherefore also, in the sight of the people, the volume of the divine lessons is handed him by the bishop, who says: 'Take this, and be thou a reader of the word of God; and thou wilt have, if thou faithfully fulfill this office, a part with those who have ministered well the word of God.' He who is promoted to this rank, ought to be instructed in the knowledge of letters, so that he may understand the sense of the words, may know the force of the accents, may read distinctly, lest by confusion in pronouncing he lead astray the minds of his readers. Let him note what is to be read as a statement, what as a question, and where a pause is to be made in his reading. For when these points are not observed, they interfere with understanding, and provoke some to laughter. The voice of the reader should aim to reach both the ears and the heart.—This office Christ fulfilled when in the midst of the elders, he opened the book of Isaiah and read distinctly and intelligibly: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,' etc. Thereby readers may perceive that they who announce the word of God to others, ought to shine with spiritual grace. The order seems to have taken its form and beginning from the prophets; for it was said to them: 'Cry aloud, cease not, lift up your voice like a trumpet.' "

VII. *Of the Exorcists.*

The third is the order of exorcists. "Now exorcists in Greek, are called adjurers or declaimers in Latin; for they invoke the name of the Lord on catechumens and on those who have an unclean spirit, adjuring it in his name to go out of them." [1] "It is the duty of an exorcist to remember his exorcisms and to lay his hands on demoniacs and catechumens in exorcizing," and he who commands the unclean spirits ought to have a clean spirit and ought to expel the evil spirit from his heart, when he expels it from the body of another, lest the medicine which he makes for another should not benefit himself and a man should say to him: "Physician, heal thyself." [2] When

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[1] Isidore, loc. cit. n. 31; C. *Cleros* (1.), d. 21. § 18.—Following passage, C. *Perlectis* (1.), d. 25. § 2; Hugh, loc. cit. c. 8.

[2] Luke 4, 23. The following passage is C. *Exorcista* (17.), d. 23; the third, Hugh, loc. cit. c. 8. (See Mark 7, 34; Matt. 8, 16; Lk. 8, 33); fourth, Gratian, introduction to d. 21. (See Matt. 12, 27.)

exorcists are ordained, they receive the book of exorcisms from the hand of the bishop, and he says to them: "Take this and have power of laying hands on demoniacs or catechumens."—"The Lord performed this office when he touched the ears and tongue of the deaf-mute with saliva and said: 'Epheta,' that is 'be opened,' teaching hereby that we ought to open spiritually the ears of the hearts of men to understand, and their mouths to confess, that they may receive the holy Spirit their surety, and the demon may be cast out. Christ also fulfilled this office when he healed many demoniacs. "This order seems to have descended from Solomon, who found a way of exorcizing, by which demons were adjured and expelled from the bodies which they possessed; men dedicated to this office are called exorcists. Christ says of them in the Gospel: 'If I cast out demons by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons,' that is, the exorcists, 'cast them out?' "

VIII. *Of the acolytes.*

In the fourth place come the acolytes. "But acolytes in Greek, are called in Latin candle-bearers, from the carrying of candles when the Gospel is to be read or the sacrifice to be offered. For then the lights are lighted, and carried by them; not to drive away the darkness, because the sun at that time is bright, but to show a sign of joy; so that under the type of corporeal light, the light might be displayed, of which it is said: 'He was the true light, which lighteth every man coming into this world.' "[1] "To the acolyte falls the preparation of the lights in the sacristy; he carries the candle, he prepares for the sub-deacons the cruet with the wine and the water mixed, for the Eucharist." "When acolytes are ordained, while they are instructed by the bishop how they ought to act in their office, they receive from the archdeacon a candlestick with a candle, and an empty cruet.—The Lord testified that he held this office when he said: 'I am the light of the world; whoever follows me shall not walk in darkness.' " Those who in the Old Testament[2] arranged the lamps in the candlestick and lighted them with celestial fire to illuminate the northern darkness, possessed the form of this office.

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[1] Isidore, loc. cit. n. 29; C. cit. *Cleros*, § 17. See John 1, 9. Following passage is C. *Perlectis*, supra cit., § 3; third is Hugh, loc. cit. c. 9; see John 8, 12.

[2] Exod. 25, 6; Levit. 6, 12.

IX. *Of the sub-deacons.*

The fifth is the order of sub-deacons. "In Greek they are called hypodiacones, whom we call sub-deacons; they are so called, because they are subordinate to the commands and duties of the Levites. For they receive in the temple the oblations of the faithful and bring them to the Levites to be placed on the altars. They were called among the Hebrews the Nathinaei," "that is, those who serve the Lord in humility." [1] "It is the duty of a sub-deacon to bring the chalice and paten to the altar of Christ, and to hand them to the Levites and to minister to them, and also to hold the cruet and the basin and the napkin for the bishop and the priests and the Levites and to offer them water to wash their hands before the altar." [2] The law of continence is imposed on them, because they approach the altar, and carry the vessels with the body and blood of Christ; wherefore they ought to fulfill the saying of Isaiah: "Be ye clean who bear the vessels of the Lord." [3] "It is also their duty to place as much of the oblations on the altar as may suffice for the people, and to wash the corporal-cloths and the palls and altar-cloths." "When they are ordained, they receive from the hand of the bishop a paten and empty chalice, and from the archdeacon a cruet with a basin and a napkin.—Christ held this office, when he girded himself with a towel and pouring water into a basin, washed the feet of the disciples, and wiped them with a towel."

X. *Of the deacons.*

"The order of deacons holds the sixth place on account of the perfection of the number six. This order in the old Testament received or took its name from the tribe of Levi; for they are also called Levites. For the Lord commanded Moses, that after the ordination of Aaron and his sons the tribe of Levi should straightway be ordained and consecrated to the Lord for the ministry of the divine worship, and that it should serve for Israel in the presence of Aaron and his sons in the tabernacle, and that they should bear

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[1] Isidore, loc. cit. n. 23; C. *Cleros*, § 14; but the last words are from Hugh, loc. cit. c. 10. (See Acts 20, 19, and II. Esdras. 3. 26.)

[2] Isidore, Ep. cit. ad Ludifredum; C. cit. *Perlectis*, § 6.

[3] Isaiah 52, 11.—The following passage is Hugh, loc. cit. c. 10, and C. *Subdiaconus* (15.), d. 23. See John 13, 5.

the ark and the tabernacle and all its vessels and should sleep round about the tabernacle, and when the tabernacle must be moved they should take it down and set it up again. They were commanded to serve in the tabernacle from twenty years of age and upward and this rule was followed by the holy Fathers under the New Testament, because that age is robust to bear burdens." [1] "The Levites therefore are called from the name of their founder; for the Levites sprang from Levi, and by them the mysteries of the mystic sacrament were performed in the temple. They are called diaconi in Greek and in Latin ministers, because, as consecration is a function of the priest, so the service of the mystery is that of the deacon." [2] "It is the duty of a deacon to assist the priests, and to minister in all the acts which are performed in the sacraments of Christ, that is, in baptism, in chrism, with the paten and chalice, and also carry the oblations and place them on the altar, also to arrange the table of the Lord and to cover it, to carry the cross, and to read the Gospel and Epistle to the people. For as the readers are commanded to read the Old Testament, so the deacons to read the New. The office of the prayers is also his duty, and the recitation of the names of catechumens. He admonishes them to give ear to the Lord, he gives the peace and he announces it." And the statute of Moses for this order is also represented under the New Testament, when a stole is laid on the left shoulder of a deacon, and his chasuble is folded upon the days of fasting; because whatever toil and endurance are suffered in this life, are, as it were, borne on the left side, while on the right, that is, in eternity, rest is found. This order was celebrated by the Apostles, when, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles[3], they chose 'seven men full of the holy Spirit' for the office, and when prayers were offered, they laid hands on them. Wherefore also the custom became established that in every mother Church seven deacons should stand around the altar of Christ like seven columns. They are the seven angels blowing trumpets in the Apocalypse, who ought to be men like those the Apostle described when he wrote to Tim-

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[1] Hugh, loc. cit. c. 11; cf. Isidore, II. de Ecclesiast. Officiis, c. 8; see Numbers 3, 6. 10 and 4, 5; 8, 24.

[2] Isidore, VII. Etymolog. c. 12. n. 22; C. *Cleros*, § 13. The following place is C. *Perlectis*, op. cit. § 7; and what follows is taken from Hugh, loc. cit. c. 11.

[3] Acts 6, 3.—For the following cf. C. *Episcopus Deo* (59.), de Cons. d. 1.

othy.[1] "When they are ordained, the bishop alone lays hands on them, because they are devoted to the ministry." He places the orarium, that is, the stole, on the left shoulder, that by this they may know that they have received the 'gentle yoke of the Lord,'[2] by which they may make subject to the fear of God the things of the left side. They receive also the text of the Gospel that they may know that they are heralds of the Gospel of Christ. Likewise before they are ordained, they should be tried, as the Apostle teaches,[3] and if they have no crime, they may minister.—"Christ performed this office when after the Feast he distributed the sacrament of his flesh and blood to the disciples, and when he roused the sleeping disciples to prayer, saying: 'Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.'"

XI. *Of presbyters.*

The seventh order is that of presbyters. "Presbyter in Greek is senior in Latin. They are called presbyters not only because of their years or advanced age, but on account of the honor and dignity which they receive"[4]; "for they ought to excel among the people by the prudence of their ways and the maturity of their conversation, as it is written: 'Old age is venerable, not for its length nor for the number of years computed. For it is the thoughts of a man that are hoary, and an immaculate life is old age.'" "Presbyters are also called priests, because they give what is sacred; yet, although they are priests, they have not the crown of the pontificate as bishops have, because they do not sign the forehead with the chrism nor give the Paraclete, which functions are shown by a reading of the Acts of the Apostles to belong to bishops only." Wherefore also among men of old times bishops and presbyters were the same, because it is the name of a dignity, not of an age. "The name priest

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[1] I. Tim. 3, 8; above, see Apoc. (Rev.) 8, 2. Following passage, C. *Diaconus* (II.), d. 23.

[2] Matt. 11, 30.

[3] I. Tim. 3, 10. Following passage from Hugh, op. cit.; see Matt. 26, 26, and Matt. 26, 41.

[4] Isidore, VII. Etymolog. c. 12. n. 20; C. *Cleros*, § 12; the following passage is Hugh, ibid. c. 12; see Wisdom 4, 8; third is Isidore and canon, as above; see Acts 8, 14.

(*sacerdos*) is composed from the Greek and the Latin, that is *sacrum dans,* or *sacer dux*. For as a king (*rex*) is called from ruling (*regendo*), so a priest from sanctifying (*sanctificando*); for he consecrates and sanctifies.[1] A priest is also called antistes from the fact that he stands before (*ante stat*), for he is first in the order of the Church." "Moreover the duty of a presbyter is to perform the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord on the altar of God, to say prayers and to bless the gifts of God"; when he is ordained he has his hands anointed, that he may know he has received the grace of consecrating and that he ought to extend the deeds of charity to all. He also receives the stole which falls on both sides, because he ought to be protected by the arms of justice against both adversity and prosperity. He also receives the chalice with the wine and the paten with the host, that he may thereby know he receives the power of offering "sacrifices acceptable to God."[2]—This order had its origin with the sons of Aaron. For God instituted high-priests and lesser priests through Moses, who at God's command anointed Aaron to be high-priest and his sons lesser priests. Christ also first "chose twelve disciples, whom he likewise called Apostles"; whose place is now occupied by the greater bishops in the Church. Next he appointed also seventy-two other disciples, whose place in the Church is filled by the presbyters. But one among the apostles became chief, Peter, whose vicar and successor is the Supreme Pontiff, wherefore he is called "apostolic" and is also known as Pope (Papa), that is, father of fathers. And the Apostle, when he wrote to Timothy, showed what manner of man ought to be elected presbyter; for there he means presbyter when he uses the name of "bishop."—And Christ performed this office when he "offered himself on the altar of the cross." When he was both priest and victim, and when after supper he changed the bread and wine into his own body and blood.—Behold, we have spoken briefly of the seven grades of the Church, and have mentioned what the duty of each is.

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[1] Rabanus, IV. de Univero. Following passage is from C. *Perlectis*, op. cit. § 8; the rest is from Hugh, op. cit. c. 12.

[2] Numbers 5, 8, next Exod. 29, 5; Luke 6, 13; 10, 1; Matt. 16, 18; I. Tim. 3, 2; Heb. 10, 11.

XII. *Which are called holy orders.*

And although all orders are spiritual and holy, yet the canons rightly ordain that only two should be called holy orders, namely the diaconate and the presbyterate; because "the primitive church is said to have had only these," [1] and we have the command of the Apostle for these only. "For the Apostle ordained bishops and presbyters in each city"; we read also that Levites were ordained by the Apostles, of whom the greatest was the blessed Stephen; but the Church established subdeacons and acolytes for herself as time went on.

XIII. *Why it is called order.*

Now if we are asked what that is which we here call order; we can say rightly that it is a sign, that is, something sacred, by which spiritual power and office are delivered to one ordained. Therefore the spiritual marking when the bestowal of power occurs, is called the order or grade. And these orders are called sacraments, because in the reception of them, a sacred thing, that is, grace is received, which is symbolized by the procedure at that time.

XIV. *Of the names of the dignities or offices.*

And there are other names, not of orders, but of dignities or of offices. Bishop is the name both of a dignity and of an office.

XV. *Of the bishop.*

"Now the word episcopate comes from the fact that he who is made bishop superintends, that is, has the care of those under him. For *scopein* in Greek is to superintend (*intendere*) in Latin; *episcopi* in Greek are in Latin overseers (*speculatores*). For the overseer (*speculator*) is placed over the Church, and is so called from the fact that he oversees and watches the customs and life of the people under him." [2]

XVI. *Of the bishop.*

"The bishop is the head of the priests, as it were a way for

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[1] Can. *Nullus in episcopum* (4.), d. 60. See I. Tim. op. cit. and Acts 6, 5. What follows, Gratian, in the beginning of d. 21.

[2] Isidore, op. cit. n. 11; C. *Cleros*, § 7.

those who follow; and he is also called the 'high-priest.' For he makes the Levites and priests, he assigns all the ecclesiastical orders." [1]

XVII. *Of the four-fold order of bishops.*

"And the order of bishops is four-fold, that is, patriarchs, archbishops, metropolitans and bishops. *Patriarcha* in Greek means the chief of the fathers, because the patriarch holds the first, that is the apostolic place, like the Roman, the Antiochian, the Alexandrian" [2]; but the chief of all is the Roman. "The *archbishop* is the head of the bishops; for *archos* in Greek is head (*princeps*) in Latin. But metropolitans are so called from the importance of their cities; for they preside over single provinces; and the other priests are subject to their authority and doctrine. For the care of the whole province is committed to the bishops themselves. And all the orders designated above are called bishops."—Note, that evidently primates were meant above by the name archbishops, and by metropolitans, those whom we now call archbishops. "Also the distinction between these seems to have been introduced by Gentiles who called some of their flamens simply flamens, other archflamens, others chief-flamens." [3] "For the priests of the Gentiles were called flamens, because they wore on their heads a felt cap, on which there was a short rod, with wool upon it, and when they could not wear it for the heat, they bound a thread only about their heads. For it was wrong for them to take their places with bare heads. Wherefore they are called flamens or filamines from the thread (*fils*) which they wore. But on feast-days they laid aside the thread and assumed the cap for the dignity of the priesthood.

XVIII. *Of the prophet.*

The seers (*vates*) were so called from their strength of mind (*vi mentis*), and the significance of their name is manifold; for it signifies sometimes priest, sometimes prophet, sometimes poet.

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[1] Locis citt.

[2] Can. cit. *Cleros*, § 1. Following passage, Isidore, loc. cit. n. 10, and C. cit. § 6.

[3] Gratian, introduction to d. 21. Following passage is Isidore, loc. cit. n. 18; C. *Cleros*, § 11.; and from Isidore, loc. cit. n. 15, and C. cit. § 9. and 16, much of what follows in the succeeding chapters, is taken.

XIX. *Of the cantor.*

But the cantor is so called, because he modulates his voice in song (*cantu*). Of cantors there are two kinds: *precentor* and *succentor; precentor,* the one who begins the chant; the succentor the one who responds by singing after him; and the *concentor* is so called, because he accompanies another. But he who does not accompany another nor sing in concert, will not be a concentor.

Now that these matters "have been briefly discussed, the ministers of Christ must be warned that just so far as they excel in the dignity of their order, should they excel in sanctity of life, so that the people committed to them, taught by their disciplines, may obey them gratefully, and may make progress from day to day through imitation of them"[1] from whom they receive the divine sacraments, and hear the solemn words of the masses.—Now "Mass" (*Missa*) is so called, either because the victim is sent (*missa*), who is commemorated in this office, wherefore we say: "Go, it is sent," that is, follow the victim which is sent to heaven, striving after it; or because "the heavenly messenger (*missus*) comes" to consecrate the Lord's body, and by him the victim is borne to the heavenly altar, wherefore also we say: "It is sent" [2] (*Missa est.*)

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[1] Hugh, loc. cit. c. 12.

[2] Cf. above d. XIII. c. 1. about the middle.

I. *Of persons ordained by heretics.*

We are also often asked whether heretics, cut off and condemned by the Church, can give holy orders, and whether persons ordained by them ought to be reordained when they return to the unity of the Church.—The words of the doctors, which seem to disagree entirely, make this problem obscure and almost insoluble.—For some appear to teach that heretics cannot give holy orders, and that those who seem to be ordained by them do not receive grace. For Innocent says[1]: "It does not seem that the Arian clergy should be received with the dignity of any priesthood or ministry," and to them he allows only baptism, which is received in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Spirit. He says also that "they cannot give the holy Spirit, whom they have lost"; and that "those ordained by heretics have their heads wounded; and he who has lost an honor cannot bestow the honor, nor can another receive anything, since there was nothing in the giver which he could receive." He taught also that "only lay communion should be imparted, with the laying on of hands, to persons who come over from the heretics, and that no one of them should receive even the smallest clerical honor." Gregory[2] also says that the consecration of the Arians is sacrilegious, when communion is received from their hands. Cyprian[3] also says that all that heretics do is carnal and worthless and sacrilegious, and their "altars are false and unlawful, their priesthoods and sacrifices sacrilegious," and that "like apes, which, since they are not men, imitate the human form, they claim the appearance and authority of the catholic Church for themselves, although they are not in the Church"; and since they are sacrilegious, they administer their priest-

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[1] Can. *Arianos* (73.), C. 1. q. 1. Following passage is C. *Qui perfectionem* (17.), ibid.; third, C. *Ventum est* (18.), ibid.; fourth, ibid. § 2.

[2] Lib. III. Dialog. c. 31; C. *Superveniente* (72.), ibid.

[3] Ep. ad Magnum de baptizandis Novatianis, n. 1; and Gratian on C. *Manus impositio* (74.), ibid. and next Cyprian, Ep. ad Iubaianum (de haereticis baptizand.) n. 2; both in C. *Si quis, inquit* (70.), ibid. For the following, cf. Cyprian, Ep. ad Magnum, n. 9. ff.

hood and erect their altar, although the oblation cannot be sacrificed there, for the holy Spirit is not present; and the Lord does not benefit anyone through the prayers and petitions of a person who has dishonored the Lord himself. Jerome[1] also asserts that "everything which is offered by heretics is defiled in the sight of the Lord, because although the things seem to be holy in appearance, yet because they are touched by someone who is polluted, they are all polluted." The same: "God hates the sacrifices of heretics and casts them away from him; and as often as heretics are gathered together in his name, he detests their noisomeness, and closes his nostrils." The same: "They offer sacrilegious bread," etc. Leo also[2] declares that, "outside the Church there are no valid priesthoods, nor are there true sacrifices." He also says: "The light of all sacrifices was extinguished in the Alexandrian see by cruel madness: the oblation of the sacrifice was interrupted, the sanctification of the chrism failed, and all the mysteries withdrew themselves from the murderous hands of the impious."—By these and other testimonies it seems established that the ecclesiastical sacraments, especially those of the body and blood, of ordination and confirmation, cannot be administered by heretics.

But on the contrary others seem to think that holy orders can be given by heretics even when cut off from the Church, as can baptism, and that those who, having been ordained and baptized by heretics return to the Church from them, need not be again ordained or baptized. Wherefore Augustine[3]: "What some say of condemned heretics: that one who leaves the Church does not lose the baptism which he has received but loses the *power of giving* what he has received; seems in many ways to be said foolishly: first, because no reason is shown why he who cannot lose his baptism can lose the power of giving it. For both are sacraments, and both are bestowed upon a man with consecration: the one when he is baptized, the other when he is ordained. Therefore neither sacrament can be repeated in the catholic Church. For when some who have been officers

[1] Comment. in Aggaeum 2, 15; C. *Sic populus* (61.), ibid.; following passage, in Amos 5, 22; C. *Odit Deus* (62.), ibid.; third, in Oseam 6, 7; C. *Illi offerunt* (63.), ibid.

[2] Ep. 80. (alias 60.) ad Anatolium, c. 2; C. *In Ecclesia* (68.), ibid.; following passage, Ep. 156. (alias 125.) ad Leonem, c. 5; C. *Manifestum est* (69.), ibid.

[3] Lib. II. contra epist. Parmeniani, c. 13. n. 28; C. *Quod quidam* (97.), ibid.

in a sect come into the Church for the good of peace, and the correction of the error of schism is corrected, they are received, and even if it seem needful that they should fill the same office which they were administering before; they are not to be ordained again; but as their baptism, so their ordination has remained unimpaired for the fault was in their cutting off from the Church, and this is corrected by the unity of peace, not in the sacraments, which, wherever they are, are the same. And when it seems expedient for the Church itself, that the officers of the heretics who come into the catholic society, should not there exercise their honors; still the actual sacraments of ordination are not taken from them, but remain with them; therefore hands are not laid on them, lest injury should be done; not to the man, but to the sacrament itself. But as in baptism there is a right which can be given by them, so in ordination there is a right to give, both to be sure to their own destruction. But it is one thing not to have a right, another to have it unto destruction, and still another unto salvation." The same[1]: "As for those who are separated from the unity of the Church, there is now no question but that they have and can give; but they have unto destruction, because they are outside the 'bond of peace.' Injury must not be done to either sacrament. Just as he does not have it rightly, if he withdraws from unity, but yet he has it, and therefore when he returns into unity it is not given to him again, so also he does not perform it rightly if he withdraws from unity and yet he performs it; and therefore it is not repeated for one, who receives it from him, when he comes into the unity of the Church." The same: "It is one thing not to have something, it is another not to have it rightly or to exercise it unlawfully. But not on that account are they not sacraments of Christ and the Church, because not only heretics, but also all the impious, use them unlawfully; but they must be corrected and punished, and the sacraments must be recognized and venerated." Also Gregory[2]: "As to your saying that he who has been ordained should be ordained again, it is certainly ridiculous. For as one who is once baptized ought not be baptized again, so he who is once consecrated, cannot be consecrated again to the same order."—From

[1] Ibid., and C. cit. § 6. See Eph. 4, 3.—Following passage from III. de Baptismo contra Donatist. c. 10. n. 13.

[2] Lib. II. Registr. indict. 10, epist. 46 (alias 22.) ad Ioan. episc. Ravennat.; C. *Sicut semel* (1.), d. 68.

these and other authorities it seems that the sacraments of Christ with the power of performing them, remain with all the impious and even with heretics who are cut off and condemned; for they are able to perform them, but to their own destruction, and those on whom they bestow them must not be ordained again. All of this seems to contradict the foregoing opinions on the other side.

Now some explain these statements thus. For they say that heretics, who leave the Church after having received sacerdotal or episcopal unction, certainly retain the power of giving baptism, but have not the ability to impart holy Orders or to consecrate the Lord's body, after they are cut off and condemned by the Church, just as a degraded bishop has not the power of bestowing holy Orders, yet he does not lose the ability to baptize. But as to the saying of Augustine, they understand it of heretics, who are cut off, not by the sentence of the Church, but by the perversity of their understanding, from the truth of faith and the unity of doctrine; who, although they are in such condition yet have the power of ordination and consecration. And persons who are ordained by them before their manifest schism even if later they openly leave with them and are condemned by the sentence of the Church, yet if they return must not be ordained again. And they say we can understand in this way, whatever we read to the effect that persons ordained by heretics can minister, if they have observed their orders, and must not be ordained again. But they assert that after the persons are cut off and condemned by the judgment of the Church the power of ordaining and consecrating is taken from them, as from the degraded, or excommunicated.—But others say that sacraments celebrated according to the rite of the Church, by heretics and persons cut off from unity, are true and valid, because when they left the Church they did not lose the power of ordaining and consecrating; and persons who are thus ordained by heretics, when they return, must not be ordained again. But the sacraments which are performed by heretics otherwise than as they are performed in the Church, are false and invalid; and persons who seem to be ordained by them, do not receive a gift but a wound. So following this difference of opinion, the doctors speak variously of these matters. But some say[1] that the same sacraments can be celebrated by heretics cut off

[1] Cf. Gratian, on C. cit. *Quod quidam*, § 5, 7.

from the Church, as by Catholics, if the forms of the church are preserved by them; and the sacraments celebrated by them are true and valid in themselves, but they are false and invalid in their effects, both upon those who wickedly perform them and upon those who wickedly receive them, and therefore invalid and false, because what they promise and are believed to confer, they do not confer; moreover they are said to be condemned, because for those who unlawfully give and receive them, they are unto judgment; they are also called polluted, not so much for themselves, as on account of the unworthy performance of them by the heretics. Therefore Gregory calls the communion of Arius execration and Innocent the ordination of Bonosius damnation; not because they are so in themselves, but because they make those, who wickedly give or receive them, liable to damnation, as Jerome also calls their sacrifices the bread of lamentation, not so much for themselves as for their effect.—But some[1] teach that those heretics who have been ordained in the Church, have the power of ordaining and consecrating, even when they are separated from it; but persons in schism or heresy who are ordained and anointed by them are without this power, and therefore when they wish to ordain, they rather inflict a wound than confer grace.

II. *Of simony, why it is so called, and what it is.*

And we must not doubt that simonists are heretics, though before the sentence of degradation they both ordain and consecrate. And although they are properly called simonists who, like Simon Magus,[2] wish to buy priceless grace for a price, and they who accept a price for their sacred ministry like Giezi,[3] should be called Giezites; yet all, both those who give and those who accept are called simonists, and both are condemned by the same sentence.

III. *Of those who are ordained by simonists with their own knowledge, and who are not.*

However there is a difference between persons who are knowingly ordained by simonists, and those who are ordained in igno-

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[1] Cf. Gratian, on C. *Per illicitam* (3.), C. 9. q. 1.

[2] Acts 8, 18.

[3] IV. Kings (II. Ki.), 5, 25 ff.

rance. "For persons who suffered themselves to be consecrated or rather execrated, knowingly by simonists have a consecration entirely invalid. But the ordination of persons who were ordained by simonists whom they did not know to be simonists when they were ordained by them, and whom they then supposed to be Catholics, is confirmed out of mercy." [1]

IV. *Of those persons who say that they buy corporeal things, not spiritual.*

"But if some object that they are not buying consecrations, but only the things which follow from consecration; they prove themselves altogether foolish. For whoever sells one thing, without which the other cannot be had, fails to sell either." [2]

V. *Of the divisions of the simonists.*

Now the divisions of simoniacal heresy are three-fold. For some persons are ordained simoniacally by simonists; others simoniacally by men who are not simonists, others not simoniacally by simonists. Wherefore Pope Nicholas[3]: "We have established the decree concerning the three-fold heresy of simony that is, concerning those simonists who ordain or are ordained simoniacally and concerning simonists simoniacally ordained by persons not simonists, and concerning simonists ordained by simonists but not simoniacally. Simonists simoniacally ordained or ordaining, shall be deposed from their own rank, according to the canons. Also simonists simoniacally ordained by persons not simonists, shall be similarly removed from office. But simonists not simoniacally ordained by simonists we mercifully permit to remain in office with the laying-on of hands, on account of the necessity of the season." "This must be understood of persons ordained by simonists, when ignorant that they are simonists. Not the guilt of the offence makes them simonists, but the ordination by a simonist."

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[1] Can. *Si qui a simoniacis* (108.), C. 1. q. 1.

[2] Can. *Si quis obiecerit* (7.), C. 1. q. 3.

[3] Can. *Statuimus decretum* (107.), C. 1. q. 1. Following passage, ibid. and Gratian on this canon.

VI. *Of persons who are forcibly ordained by simonists or by heretics.*

We must understand in the same way the judgment of Pope Alexander,[1] that "Simonists must be entirely condemned and deposed: unless the man was forcibly compelled to it. For of such persons, and also of persons forcibly ordained by heretics, Innocent says that they can have some color of excuse, if they leave immediately, and renounce the accursed place of assembly."

As for the age of persons to be ordained Pope Nicholas has decreed[2]: "The holy canons, he says, have established that a sub-deacon should not be ordained before he is fourteen years of age, nor a deacon before twenty-five, nor a priest before thirty. Then, if the man is worthy, he can be elected to the episcopate"; this rule we also command to be observed in like manner. Also Fabian: "If a man has not completed thirty years of age, he shall not be ordained priest, even if he is entirely worthy"; "because the Lord himself was baptized at thirty years of age, and then began to teach."

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[1] Gathered from C. *Erga simoniacos* (110.), ibid. and C. *Constat multos* (111.), ibid., and Gratian, ibid.

[2] Can. *In singulis gradibus* (2.), d. 77; Hugh, II. de Sacram. p. III. c. 21. Following passage is C. *Si quis triginta* (1.), d. 78. The last words are in C. *Presbyter* (4.), ibid.; see Luke 3, 21 ff.

A new rule for the age of candidates for ordination was passed by the Council of Trent (Sess. XXIII. de Reform.).—Twenty-two is the age for sub-deacons, twenty-three for deacons, and twenty-five for priests.

Distinction XXVI

I. *Of the sacrament of marriage.*

"Although the other sacraments took their rise after sin and on account of sin, we read that the sacrament of marriage was instituted by the Lord even before sin, yet not as a remedy, but as a duty." [1] For the Scripture relates in Genesis that a sleep was sent upon Adam and one of his ribs was taken, and from it a woman formed, and that the man understanding in spirit for what purpose the woman was made, said prophetically after his trance: "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; for this reason shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh."

II. *Of its institution and purpose.*

Now the institution of marriage is two-fold: one was instituted before sin in paradise as a duty, that there might be a blameless couch and honorable nuptials[2]; as a result of which they might conceive without passion and bring forth without pain; the other was instituted after sin outside paradise for a remedy, to prevent unlawful desires; the first, that nature might be multiplied; the second, that nature might be protected, and sin repressed. For even before sin God said: "Increase and multiply" [3]; and again after sin, when most men had been destroyed by the Deluge.[4] But Augustine testifies[5] that before sin marriage was instituted for a duty, and after sin allowed for a remedy, when he says: "What is a duty for the sound is a remedy for the sick." For the infirmity of incontinence which exists in the flesh that is dead through sin, is protected by honorable marriage lest it fall into the ruin of vice. If the first men had not sinned, they and their descendants would have united with-

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[1] Hugh of St. Victor, II. de Sacram. p. XI. c. 1; from the same what follows is also taken. See Gen. 2, 21. 23. 24.

[2] Heb. 13, 4. Gratian on C. *Sicut non omnis* (2.), C. 32. q. 2.

[3] Gen. 1, 28.

[4] Gen. 9, 1.

[5] Super Gen. ad lit. lib. IX. c. 7. n. 12. At the end of the chapter see Rom. 7, 15. 23.

out the incentive of the flesh and the heat of passion; and as any good deed deserves reward, so their union would have been good and worthy of reward. But because on account of sin the law of deadly concupiscence has beset our members, without which there is no carnal union, an evil union is reprehensible unless it be excused by the blessings of marriage.

III. *When marriage was contracted by command and when by permission.*

The first institution was commanded, the second permitted. For we learn from the Apostle,[1] that marriage was permitted to the human race for the purpose of preventing fornication. But this permission, because it does not select better things, is a remedy, not a reward; if anyone rejects it, he will deserve judgment of death. An act which is allowed by permission is voluntary, not necessary; otherwise the one who did not do it would be a transgressor. And we can rightly understand that it was said to the first men as a command before sin: "Increase and multiply"; and they were bound by the command even after sin, until the multiplication was achieved, after which marriage was contracted by permission. So after the deluge when nearly the whole human race was wiped out, the sons of Noah were commanded: "Increase and multiply"; but when man had multiplied, marriage was contracted by permission, not by command.

IV. *In what ways the permission should be received.*

Now permission is received in various ways, as concession, as remission, as toleration. And there is toleration in the New Testament, for lesser good deeds and lesser evils; among the lesser good deeds is marriage, which does not deserve a palm, but is a remedy; among the lesser evils, that is, the venial ones, is a union which is due to incontinency. For such a marriage is permitted, that is, is allowed; and such a marriage, that is such a union, is tolerated, that is suffered, in so far as it is not forbidden.

V. *That marriage is good.*

Now there have been some heretics who denounced marriage,

[1] I. Cor. 7, 6.

who were called Tatians.[1] "These condemn marriage altogether[2] and make it equal to fornication and other corruptions, and they do not receive into their number any male or female living in marriage." "But that marriage is good[3] is proved not only by the fact that we read that the Lord instituted marriage between our first parents, but also that Christ was present at a marriage in Cana of Galilee and commended it by a miracle, changing the water into wine; and that afterwards he forbade a man to put away his wife, save for the cause of fornication. The Apostle also says: 'A virgin does not sin if she marries.' It is therefore clear that marriage is a good thing," otherwise it would not be a sacrament; for a sacrament is a sacred sign.

VI. *Of what thing marriage is a sacrament.*

Since therefore marriage is a sacrament, it is also a sacred sign and of a sacred thing, namely, of the union of Christ and the Church, as the Apostle says[4]: It is written, he says: "A man shall leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh. This is a great sacrament, but I speak of Christ and of the Church." For as between husband and wife there is union in the harmony of their spirits and in the joining of their bodies, so the Church is joined to Christ by will and nature in that she wills the same as he, and that he himself assumed the form of the nature of man. Therefore the bride is united to the bridegroom spiritually and physically, that is by love and by a conformity to nature. And the symbol of both these unions is in marriage; for the harmony of the husband and wife signifies the spiritual union of Christ and the Church which takes place through love; and the union of the sexes signifies the union which takes place through a conformity to nature.

Hence it is that some doctors have said that a woman does not belong in marriage who does not know union in the flesh. For Augustine says[5]: "There is no doubt that a woman does not belong

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[1] August., de Haeresibus, c. 25.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Sum. Sent. tr. 7. c. 2. See Gen. 2, 24, and John 2, 2 ff., then Matt. 5, 32; 19, 9; and finally I. Cor. 7, 36.

[4] Eph. 5, 31. 32.

[5] Not found in Augustine; Gratian, C. *Non est dubium* (16.); and also it is the continuation of the second passage, (that from Pope Leo).

in marriage, in whose case it is shown that there has been no sexual union." Also Pope Leo[1]: "Since the bond of marriage was so instituted from the beginning that without sexual union it does not contain the sacrament of Christ and the Church; there is not doubt that a woman does not belong in marriage in whose case it is shown that there has been no mystery of marriage." Also Augustine[2]: "Marriage is not complete without sexual union."—If one accepts this according to the superficial meaning of the words, he is led into such error as to say that without carnal union, matrimony cannot be contracted, and that there was no marriage between Mary and Joseph, or that it was not perfect; to think which is a sin. For it was the more holy and perfect, as it was the more free from carnal acts. But the passages above are to be understood in this way, not that a woman does not belong in marriage, in whose case there is no sexual union; but that she does not belong in a marriage which contains the express and full symbol of the union of Christ and the Church. For her marriage represents the union of Christ and the Church, which is in love, but not that which is in a conformity to nature. There is therefore in her marriage a type of the union of Christ and the Church, but only of that union in which the Church is united to Christ by love, not of that in which through Christ's assumption of the flesh the members are joined to the head; but her marriage is not for that reason less holy, because as Augustine says,[3] "in marriage the sanctity of the sacrament is more important than the fruitfulness of the womb." Marriage is also a sign of the spiritual union and affection of souls, by which husbands and wives ought to be united. Wherefore the Apostle says[4]: "Husbands, love your wives as your own bodies."

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[1] Ep. 167. (alias 2.) ad Rustic. inquisit. 4; Gratian, C. *Cum societas*, C. 27. q. 2. and on C. *Sufficiat* (2.), ibid.

[2] I. Soliloq. c. 10. n. 17.

[3] De Bono coniugal. c. 18. n. 21.

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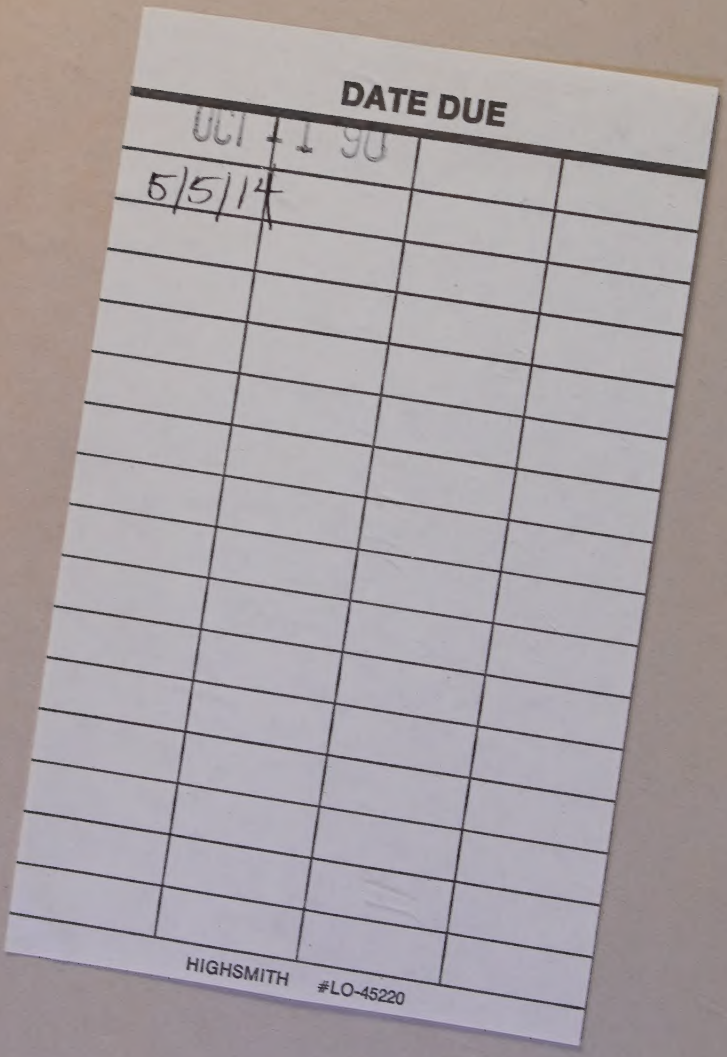
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